

THE

# National AND ENGLISH Review

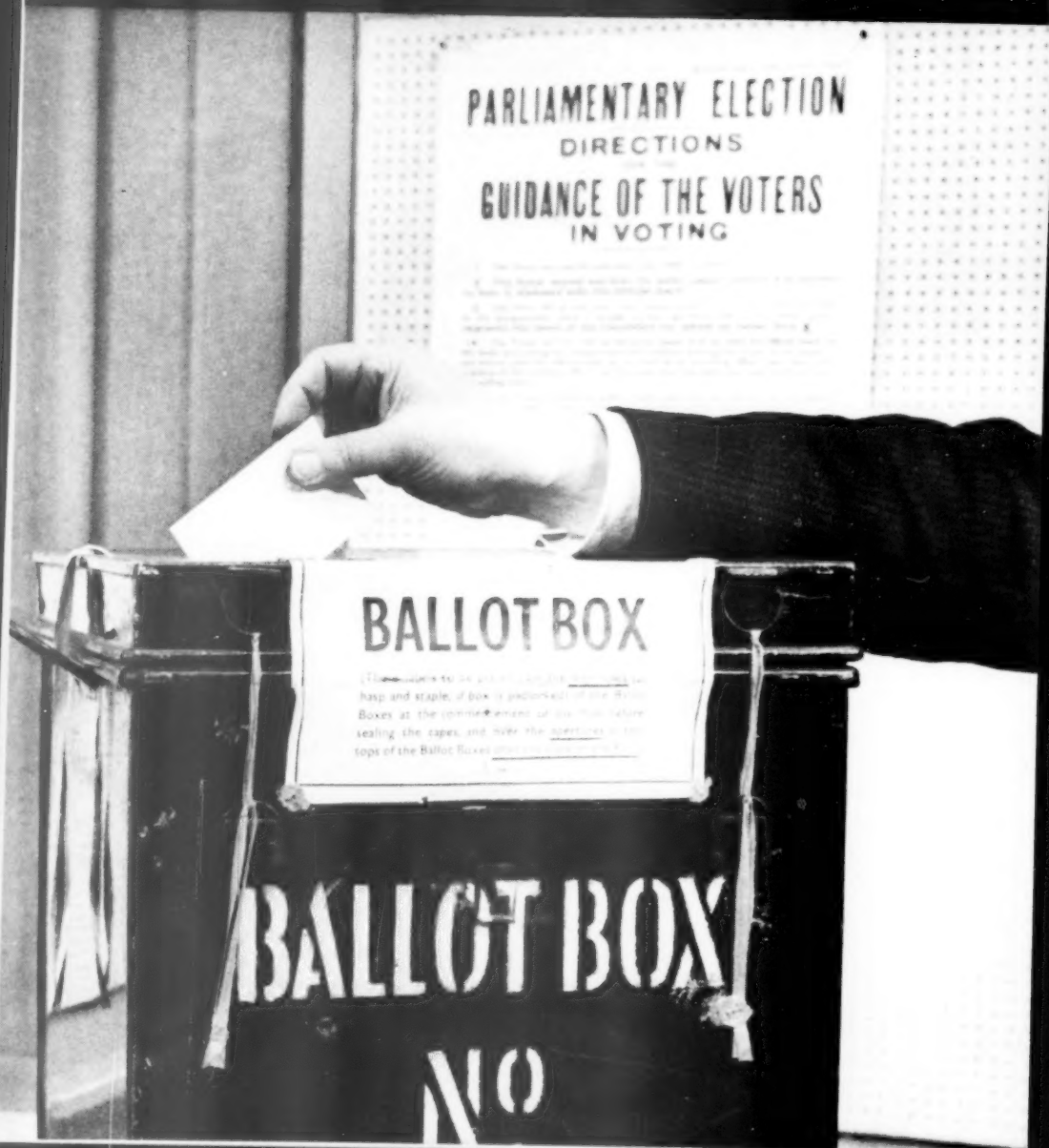
Vol. 153

OCTOBER, 1959

No. 920

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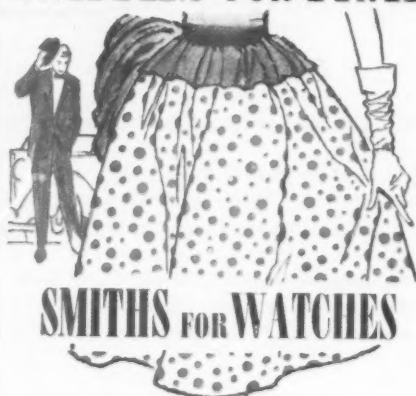
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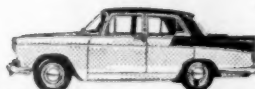
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## Episodes of the Month

# THE CHOICE

**T**HIS is a Tory paper—not an *official* Tory paper. We stand for our own conception of an honest and progressive Toryism, which may often conflict with the actions and policies of a Tory administration. At Election time we do not feel obliged to argue that a Tory victory would best serve the interests of the nation, or even of the Tory Party itself. We leave to others the lunatic partisanship ("My party, right or wrong"), the lies and half-truths, the worship of authority and the glorification of mediocrity, which in recent years have reduced British politics to a state of dishonour and danger.

Yet we trust there is nothing prim or mugwumpish or neutral in our attitude. It never worried us that Mr. Aneurin Bevan once referred to Tories as "lower than vermin": cracks of that kind are in a healthy tradition and should be freely exchanged. Indeed we are suspicious of the campaigner who piously deprecates "mud-slinging". What else is likely to be slung at an Election, if not mud? And why should mud be regarded as a particularly loathsome missile? It is a fair bet that those who are unable or unwilling to convey their electoral arguments in the form of earthy hyperbole will resort to more poisonous and objectionable material. Voters should be on their guard against the polite electioneer, who deplores the boorishness and fanaticism of his opponents, while claiming for himself a dispassionate and objective outlook. They should require from such a man proof more tangible than words that his motives are higher than those of the average politician—class feeling, combined with the desire for place and power. They should also remember that even the patriot, who is a cut above the careerist and the class-warmonger, may

be a menace if he does not believe that the love of country is less important than the love of truth and justice.

### What is at Stake?

British General Elections are not very frequent occurrences. Under our semi-democratic Constitution the British people have a *right* to choose their Government only once in every five years. In practice, of course, Elections are held rather more often than the Law demands, because Prime Ministers may ask the Sovereign for a Dissolution when they find the task of governing impossible, or when they see a chance of increasing their majority; and it has become customary for the Sovereign to grant their request. Thus Mr. Attlee went to the country in 1951 less than two years after the previous Election, and Mr. Macmillan has chosen to fight this autumn rather than let the 1955 Parliament run its full course. In a signed article two months ago we tried to draw attention to the vices of a system under which a Prime Minister can rig the circumstances of an Election to suit himself, and under which the statutory life of a Parliament is as long as five years. We suggested that the interval should be reduced to four years and that the Sovereign should grant a Dissolution within that time only on the most rare occasions. It is surely wrong that one party leader should be allowed to play a cat-and-mouse game with other parties, and with the whole electorate.

We also pointed out that the choice at an Election is now hardly less a choice of Prime Minister than a choice of party programme. The man who gets a foothold in No. 10 Downing Street is more comparable today with an American President than with a British Prime Minister in the last century.

Through his disposal of offices and patronage he dominates the political world, and if he can put himself across as a television personality he can dominate the public mind as well. Parliament has become little more than a machine for implementing the "mandate" of the victorious party and/or the personal wishes of the Prime Minister. Parliamentary sovereignty, like Royal sovereignty, is now a legal fiction. M.P.s are more servile than in the days of the Grand Whiggery, when their votes were in the strict sense purchasable. Then at least they were not dependent upon membership of Parliament for a comfortable living; but all too many M.P.s today, if they lose their seats, are sacrificing not only their hopes of advancement, but an easier and better paid job than they could otherwise obtain. Knowing that their party organisation is controlled by the party leader (with his facilities for indoctrination and the glittering store of peerages, knighthoods and miscellaneous gongs actually or potentially in his gift) they tend to follow him without argument; or, if they are bold enough to argue, to support him with their votes even when their voices are tremblingly uplifted against him. Messrs. Macmillan and Gaitskell have both grasped the extent of their power, which is almost unlimited, subject to one condition: that they continue to pander to the superstitions and psychological weaknesses of their respective parties. Macmillan has cultivated the image of a traditional grandee who is also a canny business-man. He is ready, as it were, to welcome anyone to tea at Birch Grove who can afford the entrance fee—a fee which, thanks to his enlightened policies, more and more people are able to afford. Towards the outside world his demeanour is exquisitely patronising. Gaitskell has taken his stand firmly upon the petty, insular selfishness of the trade union movement, which pays for his party, bulldozes the annual party conferences with its block votes—and incidentally gave him the party leadership over the head of Bevan, who had been showing sinister democratic proclivities and was disturbingly touched with the unworkmanlike quality of genius.

On October 8th the electors will have to choose between two programmes, and between two men. Before we examine each of these choices in some detail we must meet the argument of the Liberals that they offer an effective third choice.

## Two Parties or Three?

The object of Parliamentary democracy must be to ensure that government is in accordance with the wishes of the majority. In a free society there can be no general agreement on a whole range of proposed measures, so the best that can be contrived is majority rule; and it must be evident that this can best be achieved within a two-party system. The shortcomings of such a system are obvious. It means that each of the two big parties must of necessity be a coalition; neither represents any pure body of principle; and either or both may from time to time fall under the influence of harmful elements. But democracy has its institutional hazards and they should not be used to discredit or subvert the democratic process.

We submit that the Liberal Party is, in effect, a threat to democracy, despite the manifestly good intentions of its leaders and members. Mr. Grimond knows very well that he cannot bid for the task of government, as his party is only contesting one-third of the Parliamentary seats and has no hope of winning more than a handful. His explicit aim, therefore, is to act as a "brake" upon whichever of the two big parties secures a majority in the Election, perhaps even to "hold the balance" in the new Parliament. But what right has he to frustrate the expressed will of a national majority? We feel entitled to ask this question, being in sympathy with many of the Liberal Party's ideas and having more respect for Grimond, as a man, than for Gaitskell or Macmillan. It cannot be said of us that we are prejudiced against the Liberal Party on ideological grounds: on the contrary, we should be glad to see the Tory Party fighting the Election with more of the Liberal programme than of its own smug and cowardly Manifesto. Our complaint against the Liberals is simply that their ambition to brake and balance would, if realised, amount to *minority* rule; and a democrat must not countenance the rule of a minority, even if he approves of its views. There is a distinct resemblance between Mr. Grimond's conception of the Liberal Party's role and the High Tory doctrine of the House of Lords veto or the High Labour doctrine of the block vote. Mr. Grimond and his followers could more usefully and democratically have served the liberal cause by joining one or other of the parties which are capable of winning the majority of votes



in an Election. Had they done so, the present state of both the Tory and Labour Parties would be radically—yes, radically—different and the choice before the elector with progressive instincts would be less disheartening than it is.

With the relative freedom that they enjoy, as a party not in the running for power, it might be thought that the Liberals would be more united in their beliefs than either the Socialists or the Tories. But even this virtue, inherently available to a splinter group, the Liberal Party lacks. No less than its larger rivals it is a coalition, comprising all manner of ill-assorted opinions. Some of its members are well to the Left of the Labour leadership, others (like the Liberal candidate in the Carmarthen bye-election) would be quite at home with Captain Charles Waterhouse. It still stands, ostensibly, for Free Trade; yet its "finest hour", at Torrington, was due to the injured protectionist feelings of local farmers on the morrow of an unpopular Price Review. Earlier "third parties"—the Irish Party, for instance, or the Labour Party before it supplanted the Liberals—were marked by their coherence and fixity of purpose, though their intervention was constitutionally undesirable. The Liberal Party in 1959 has the omnibus character of the two giants, only in miniature: like them it is unprincipled, but, unlike them, it has not the excuse that it is a serious contender for power.

Perhaps, however, it might become a serious contender if the Labour Party were heavily defeated in this Election or at some future date. As Labour ousted the Liberals, so the Liberals might have the satisfaction of ousting Labour and regaining their pristine glory. But we think they have only an outside chance of reaching what is now their acknowledged goal. Whatever the opinion polls may suggest, the Labour Party is very far from being a dead duck, and even if it suffers a severe defeat it will be more likely to reform itself internally, as the Tory Party did after 1945, than to disintegrate and leave the way open for the Liberals. We conclude, therefore, that liberal-minded voters should reflect very carefully before deciding to vote Liberal.

### The Tory Record

Governments are seldom able to present a record of untarnished well-doing, but the Macmillan Government is more sullied than most. It was formed at a time when,

through the deliberate action of men most of whom are still its members, Britain's good name was blasted, the Anglo-American alliance was temporarily sundered, and British interests in the Middle East were in jeopardy. The party line is now to forget about Suez, to let bygones be bygones—while cursing the Socialists and the Americans for not backing the assault on Egypt. We absolutely refuse to toe the party line on this issue, even though it covers a substantial reorientation of policy. Labour's commitment to the theory of nationalisation also masks a big change of policy, but Tories maintain—quite rightly—that continued obeisance to a false god, by people who know it to be false, encourages the vain faith of others and creates an atmosphere of hypocrisy. Nationalisation is no more than an error. Suez was a crime. Yet Tory leaders, far from admitting that they were wrong in 1956, have flaunted their infamous conduct with shameless effrontery; and the Tory rank and file have shown more inclination to repudiate those who had the courage to oppose the Suez operation than those who launched it.

Defence policy has been contemptible. National Service has been abandoned without the agreement of Britain's allies and before there is any assurance that the armed forces, more especially the Army, can be kept up to strength on a basis of voluntary recruiting. The H-bomb has been manufactured and tested for reasons of prestige rather than strategic necessity. It has even been said that a British H-bomb was required to give weight to Britain in negotiation with the Americans. No idea could be more ignoble or more fatuous. British influence with the Americans was at its peak at the time of Churchill's Fulton speech, when the U.S. had a monopoly of atom bombs.

In foreign affairs the Government takes credit for repairing the Anglo-American alliance, which it nearly destroyed; for a Cyprus solution which, but for its own obstinacy, could have been obtained years before; for propping up feudal regimes in the Middle East and also sending arms to near-Communist Iraq, while failing to restore diplomatic relations with President Nasser; and for entering into direct contact with Mr. Khrushchev, at the highest level, only when he had sent an ultimatum about Berlin and a British General Election was in the offing.

In Commonwealth affairs the outstanding achievements have been the independence of Ghana and Malaya, the Caribbean Federation, and the negotiations preparatory to an independent Nigeria. For these Mr. Lennox-Boyd deserves much praise. But there is a sombre side to the audit. The Colonial Secretary has yielded to the pressure of European settlers, rather than to that of African nationalists, in Kenya and the Northern territories of the Rhodesian Federation. As regards Kenya, he has now been forced to call a round table conference to discuss the political future (the Constitution which he propounded being obviously unworkable) but the indications are that he will be guided by the "moderate", and mainly settler, group of Mr. Michael Blundell, instead of meeting the 'Africans' demands. As regards Central Africa, it is reasonable to assume that the Nyasaland Emergency and the Devlin Report have left the Government in no mood to concede nationhood to Sir Roy Welensky, except on terms which he would be bound to refuse. At the same time there is no evidence of any intention to bring Africans rapidly and genuinely into partnership in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The domestic record is better, though it leaves much to be desired. The fiendish problem of cost inflation has been tackled intermittently with resolution, and with a measure of success; but we must be very cautious, because the present stability owes so much to favourable terms of trade. Production figures are poor, by comparison with other leading industrial nations. Taxation has been reduced, not always wisely, but no radical reform of the tax system has been undertaken. Savings have been stimulated and the hopeful innovation of Premium Bonds has been introduced. Much more has been done for old age pensioners than was done by the Socialists, but Mr. Boyd-Carpenter's scheme may be less attractive to the elderly voter than Labour's superannuation plan. Moreover, the Tory Government has missed the point that the blackmail of old age pensioners will be increasingly potent at Elections until younger voters—18-year-olds or even 16-year-olds—are brought on to the Register at the other end of the scale. (Labour's Youth Commission recommended an extension of the franchise to 18-year-olds, but the party leaders significantly shelved the proposal.)

House-building and house ownership have been pushed forward, and the logical, sensible and courageous Rent Act carried, despite melodramatic opposition. The Restrictive Trade Practices Act was another admirable piece of legislation. A start has been made with giving Britain an adequate network of major roads. Finally, some tentative steps were taken in what seemed to be the direction of steadily reducing farm subsidies.

### The Tory Programme

COMPLACENCY oozes through every paragraph of the Tory Manifesto, which is called *The Next Five Years* but might more accurately be described as a Charter for Inertia. Preposterous claims are made about the Prime Minister's contribution in world affairs. His "visit to Russia in February began a sequence of events which has led to the present easing of tension": "thanks to the [Government's] initiative . . . the diplomatic deadlock between East and West has now been broken". The short answer to this nonsense is that the deadlock has *not* been broken by the latest series of propaganda visits and speeches, and in any case the Prime Minister's visit to Moscow was only a belated *revanche* for the B and K visit to England in 1956. It was a good move, as we commented at the time, but it was no more epoch-making than Attlee's much-ballyhooed visit to Washington in 1950, which was hailed by Socialist electioneers as "the flight that saved the world".

The section headed "Sharing Prosperity" contains the embarrassing words: "Conservatism is more than successful administration. It is a way of life. It stands for integrity as well as for efficiency, for moral values as well as for material advancement, for service and not merely self-seeking". If this were true of the present Government the men of Suez could not be members of it. As for prosperity, no reference is made to the essential insecurity of the improvements which have followed the Thorneycroft crisis, or to the fundamental requirements of an expansionist economy. The phrases chosen are of an anodyne sort, leading up to this heart-breaking cliché about industrial relations:—" . . . we intend to invite the representatives of employers and trades unions to consider afresh with us the human and industrial problems that the next five years will bring."

## THE CHOICE

It was surely to be expected that the Government, having bungled its negotiations with the Common Market "Six", and having thereby placed Britain at a grave disadvantage both as regards trade and the supply of American investment capital, would have offered some rousing alternative, such as Mr. Russell Lewis (a recent Chairman of the Bow Group and now a Tory candidate) puts forward on a later page. But the Government's policy seems to be to drift along and hope for the best. Most damaging pledges are given on rents and farm subsidies, which inhibit any further liberalisation on both counts. The pensions plan falls between two stools, being neither as flashy as the Socialists' nor proof against the charge that it is a copy. The Government would have been well advised to promise increases to pensioners whenever they could be granted without prejudice to the value of money and the dynamic growth of the national income; and to oppose any scheme which would automatically create inflationary pressure. On the nationalised industries the Manifesto is bleak and unimaginative. There is no proposal to put them all, like the Post Office, under Ministers directly responsible to Parliament. Nor is it suggested, for instance, that mines which the National Coal Board cannot operate at a profit might be offered to private enterprise before they are closed down. If Charter air lines are allowed to exist alongside the public air corporations, why should there not be Charter pits and Charter railways? Such a loosening of monopoly might lead to better service and might also safeguard the jobs of some workers who will otherwise become redundant.

There is no word about tax reform—only a general promise to reduce "whenever possible the burden of taxation". On the vital subject of education there is only drivel about bringing the secondary modern schools "up to the same high standard" as the grammar schools, and expanding teacher training colleges: nothing about *raising teachers' pay*, which is the key to progress in this field. And of course there is no recognition of the fact that public education in Britain is bound to drag its feet so long as the independent schools are left in their unreformed state. It has not yet occurred to the Tory apostles of "national unity" (or to the Socialists, for that matter) that the perpetuation of "two nations" in the educational sphere ensures class division

throughout the country. What moral difference is there between the purchase of educational privilege and the purchase of commissions in the Army, which was abolished in the reign of Queen Victoria?

The pompous title "Our Duty Overseas" covers a multitude of sins. "Our central aim," the Manifesto says, "is to build communities which protect minority rights and are free of all discrimination on grounds of race or colour." Shorn of euphemism this may be taken to mean communities in which the economic interests and, for as long as possible, the political power of European minorities are defended against the claims of nationalist majorities. In fact, the only hope for European economic interests in most Colonial territories is that they should be immediately divorced from political power—as they were, some years ago, in the West Indies. The duty of the British Government is to protect majorities against minorities, not *vice versa*; and to act upon the democratic principles to which it is constantly paying lip-service. Nor is there any validity in the specious argument:—"If democracy is to be secured, education must underpin the franchise . . ." This is an old chestnut, used to delay the concession of democratic rights. There is no necessary connection between education, even literacy, and the fitness to vote, as witness the example of India, with its vast illiterate majority, which is a working democracy (well able to protect itself against Communist blandishments), and the example of Britain, which lost the American Colonies when it was governed by a small, highly educated aristocracy.

All in all, the Tory Manifesto makes gloomy reading. It is "Land of Hope and Glory" played on a theatre organ at the tempo of a funeral march.

### The Labour Alternative

Labour's Manifesto is called *Britain Belongs to You*—an ominous and revealing title. Britain does *not* belong to any passing generation of Britons, and it is symptomatic of the whole Socialist outlook that the electors of today should be encouraged, in effect, to live off their children. This is the plain truth about inflation, and the Labour programme is a passport to inflation.

Mr. Gaitskell no doubt sincerely believes that the vast expenditures to which his party is committed can be financed out of "planned expansion". We are convinced

that he is mistaken. He points to the United States, Western Germany and France as countries in which production has been expanding much faster than in Britain; but he fails to observe that these countries are subject to *less* Socialist planning than exists in Britain under the present Government—not more. Towards the sacred cow of British agriculture the Labour Manifesto is even more subservient than the Tory: "... since 1951 [farmers'] security has been whittled away. It must be restored". There is no mention of teachers' pay. **Op the home** front the Socialists are aiming their appeal at some of the most reactionary sections of the community—the old age pensioners, organised labour, and the landed interest.

Foreign and Commonwealth affairs are relegated to the back page of the Manifesto. The three "principles" of Labour's Colonial policy are listed as follows: "first, that the peoples still under Colonial rule have as much right as we have to be governed by consent; secondly, that 'one man, one vote' applies in all parts of the world; thirdly, that racial discrimination must be abolished". These are splendid principles. But why no pledges? Why, if the pensioners are to have ten shillings at once, are the Colonial peoples not to have *immediate* universal suffrage? They will not forget that Labour had six years in which to give it to them after 1945, during which time the advances made were, on the whole, modest. They will also recall the incarceration of Dr. Nkrumah and the treatment of Seretse Khama. Above all, they will view with indignation the self-righteous statement "we have solemnly pledged ourselves to devote an average of 1 per cent. of our national income each year to helping the underdeveloped areas". If the pledge applied to the Colonies only, it would represent an improvement on what the Tories are already doing, though it would still be far too little. But it applies to the underdeveloped areas in general, and represents therefore markedly *less* than is already being done. If this is what the Socialists mean by a "War against Want", their idea of a war effort is exceedingly strange. They seem to care little for the needy—the desperately needy—who have no votes in a British General Election.

And do they announce that they will hold a public enquiry into the Suez war and its origins if they are returned to power? Not they. It appears that their interest in this

supremely important matter waned when they discovered jingoism was stronger, if anything, in the Labour movement than in the Tory Party. They cannot be surprised if many thoughtful voters write them off as a gang of opportunists.

### Macmillan and Gaitskell

We must now take a brief look at the two leading personalities. Each has been featured in our "Dossier" series, and we shall take the liberty of quoting some of the opinions which we hazarded in the early part of last year.

Macmillan had a fine record in the 'thirties, and he is an excellent administrator. Had his career ended before he became Foreign Secretary it would merit almost unqualified praise. But he has suffered from the desire to be Churchillian, without having Churchill's redeeming genius. He has also been corrupted by power. His character "is an odd mixture of shrewdness and silliness, of bigness and smallness, of prudence and impetuosity. There is more than a touch of Machiavelli in the man whom the public knows as Mac . . ." (Dossier No. 1, March, 1958). Gaitskell was a good civil servant, but there is no reason to think he was a good Minister, let alone that he would be a good Prime Minister. He showed acumen in his duel with Bevan for the party leadership, but the stamina required for national leadership is of a special order and he may not possess it. He shares with Sir Anthony Eden an emotional temperament: he "cares very much what is thought of him", unlike Attlee, who "isolated himself like the captain of a ship" and was "indifferent to the pressure of public and private opinion". "There are some who hate Hugh Gaitskell and some who love him; but those who hate him do not really fear him". (Dossier No. 2, June, 1958). If and when he becomes Prime Minister his stature will be enhanced, but he will be unequal to the job if he lacks the quality of detachment. Only men of surpassing talent can do without it and his talents, though far above the ordinary, are not in the world-beating class.

So far as the leadership contest is concerned voters must therefore choose between a man who has stamina but too little scruple, and a man who has rather more scruple and a probable deficiency in stamina. The choice is not easy.



### Conclusion

How, then, should a radical Tory cast his vote in this Election? Should he, indeed, cast it at all? There is a widely held theory that abstention is immoral; that every elector must be able to make some choice, even if it is a choice of evils. We would dispute this argument. Abstention, if it is a deliberate act and not the result of laziness or indifference, may be the most honest and useful way to record an opinion. Many Socialists abstained in 1955, and who is to say they were wrong? Their abstention presumably reflected disaffection with their own party, but they were not prepared to go to the extent of voting for its opponents. By abstaining they helped to confirm the Tories in power with an increased, though not overwhelming, majority. Had they voted Tory there would have been a Tory landslide and their own party would not merely have been chastened: its very survival would have been threatened.

When a party has been in office for eight years there is reason, in principle, to think that it may be due for a period of rustication. Human beings deteriorate under the temptations and strains of power, and they also deteriorate if for too long they are denied the practical test of responsibility. Thus a fairly steady alternation of high political personnel is in the national interest. The logic of regarding the Opposition as in no circumstances fit to govern is that there should be one-party rule; the logic of accepting the two-party system is that members of either party must from time to time be prepared to view its defeat at the polls with equanimity.

Some Tories and some Socialists can only contemplate their opponents' winning an Election with horror and foreboding. But the country somehow manages to keep

going, whichever party is governing it. We have explained why we have no ultimate confidence in the Labour Party as it is today, and we trust that our analysis has not been distorted by traditional bias. We acknowledge the bias—this is a Tory paper—but commitment should never exclude fairness, nor should it become a substitute for original thought. In the long run, we are sure the Tory Party has more to offer than the Labour Party, but in the short run there is much to be said for letting Labour do its worst (and learn some more wisdom in the process) and for giving the Tory Party a chance to put its house in order. A spring cleaning is urgently needed.

In the last resort a Tory voter of roughly our persuasion may be influenced by the character of his local candidate. He may be lucky enough to find in his constituency a man or woman of unregimented views, who would speak and vote in Parliament according to conscience, except in matters covered by the electoral mandate. Despite the general considerations we have mentioned, which seem to indicate the desirability of abstention, such a candidate would deserve support, as he or she would, if returned, be an asset to Parliament and to the Tory Party. If this Election sets a premium on candidates who have minds and convictions of their own it will be remembered with gratitude by future generations.

*N.B. Owing to the need to comment fully on the Election issues we have no space this month for world events—such as Khrushchev's visit to the United States, the Chinese threat to India, or President de Gaulle's declaration on Algeria. These and other matters will be discussed in our next issue.*

## Dossier No. 15

# DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

THE man with the heart-warming grin, the friendly wave, the muddled speech and the unsophisticated pleasures might pass for a good but ordinary mortal. Dwight D. Eisenhower has not, however, reached his present eminence through sheer benevolence and folksiness. He is indeed a "man of the people", and this is one of the main

reasons for his immense popularity. But he is also gifted with exceptional shrewdness which, together with his charm and capacity for organising team-work, accounts for a record of unbroken success since, in 1942, he first assumed a position of high responsibility.

\* \* \*



IKE AND MAMIE, JULY, 1916

Keystone

There was little in his early life to suggest that he would one day be President. He was not born in the proverbial log cabin, but his family circumstances were modest. "As a matter of fact we were very poor", said Eisenhower during his 1952 campaign, "but it is the glory of the American way of life that we did not know it at the time". His father, David, was a railway mechanic on temporary duty at Denison, Texas, when the most famous of his sons was born; but the family soon moved back to Abilene, Kansas. At eighteen Eisenhower finished high school there and was still undecided what to do with his life. He worked for a time at a refrigerating plant and on the farms. Then he took both the naval and the military academy entrance examinations. He was first in the Annapolis and second in the West Point tests. Had he taken these examinations a little earlier he might have become an admiral, not a general: he was just over age for the naval academy.

His performance at West Point was adequate, though unremarkable. When he left in 1915 he was 61st in a class of 164. He saw no active service during the first World War. But in 1916, when a second lieutenant stationed in Texas, he became engaged to Mamie Doud and married her in July of

that year. Mamie, as she is affectionately known to the American nation, has been a great help to Ike throughout his career and is now what Americans like a "First Lady" to be. Though her short bangs became a fad for a time, and she has been included among the world's twelve best-dressed women by the New York Dress Institute, she never follows the extremes of fashion. She is pleasant-looking without being too glamorous and, like her husband, she has a ready smile. She insists that she is non-political, hates making speeches and bars all political questions from her rare press conferences. She keeps in the background, thus winning the approval of all who consider a woman's place is in the home, even when home is the White House.

Between the Wars Ike moved steadily up the ladder of peace-time promotion, gaining valuable experience as a staff officer and military adviser in the Philippines. In 1941 General Marshall, then Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, impressed by the reports and studies written by Major Eisenhower emphasising the importance of mechanisation and the need for a strong industrial base in war, summoned him back to Washington after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. For about twenty minutes Marshall summarised the gloomy prospect facing the country, then abruptly asked:—"What should be our general line of action?" When Eisenhower outlined his views Marshall merely replied "I agree with you" and put him in charge of planning.

In 1942 he was given command of forces in the European theatre and told to carry out plans which he had himself drawn up. His conduct of the campaign in North Africa provided immediate and striking evidence of his qualities *as a politician*. Ike was instinctively aware that his task was to foster the political conditions in which the Allies could achieve victory, and that a vital part of that task was to prevent Allied commanders and staff officers from fighting each other. He refused to tolerate Anglo-American rivalries and showed an almost uncanny sensitiveness to the tortured psyche of France. First he had to decide to do business with Darlan, and later to establish diplomatic and human relations with de Gaulle. Unlike Roosevelt, he was quick to appreciate de Gaulle's heroic virtues, and de Gaulle saw in him the embryo of a generous statesman:—

It was a piece of luck for the Allies that Dwight Eisenhower discovered in himself not



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only the necessary prudence to deal with . . . thorny problems, but also an attraction towards the wider horizons that history opened before his career. He knew how to be adroit and flexible. But if he used skill he was also capable of audacity.\*

Last year, when de Gaulle was about to return to power in France and was being wildly misrepresented and traduced outside his own country, Ike went out of his way to say at a press conference that he was one of those who liked de Gaulle.

It is essential to realise that Ike's talents as a higher commander were political rather than military. Lord Montgomery's well-known criticisms of his strategy as Supremo in North-West Europe are therefore beside the mark. Obviously Monty is a better *soldier* than Ike, but he could never have held the invading Allied armies together as Ike did, nor could he have maintained public confidence on both sides of the Atlantic in the impartiality of SHAEF. It is significant that while he (Monty) was commanding British and American forces in Normandy he managed to antagonise the American General Bradley. Ike never antagonised the men with whom he had to deal. He could be firm—when it came to the point he was firm with Monty—but he did not throw his weight about and was gentle even in the act of overruling a presumptuous subordinate. Thus Monty has never ceased to love and admire the man whose professional judgment he disputes. The military case for a concentrated thrust into the Ruhr and North Germany in 1944 has now been virtually substantiated, but Ike may well reply that he brought the campaign in Europe to an end at an earlier date than his present critics predicted before the landings in Normandy. He would also be justified in challenging the political argument that Monty's strategy would have given the Western Allies a more favourable position in post-war Europe. The Russians were still, at that time, better placed than the Allies for bargaining and blackmail, as Yalta amply proved. The Japanese were not yet beaten, the atomic bomb had not yet been used, and the division of Europe which emerged roughly corresponded with the realities of the situation. Austria might, indeed, have been kept entirely free of Russians had the American 7th Army been sent in that direction instead of being landed



"IKE IS GOOD ON A MIKE" *Camera Press*

superfluously in the South of France. But such a decision of policy lay outside Ike's jurisdiction.

During the Potsdam Conference a grateful President Truman turned to Ike, who was driving with him in a car, and offered to help him in whatever might be his civilian aspirations: "that definitely and specifically includes the Presidency in 1948". Ike replied that he had no other wish than to return home and relax. The first serious effort to nominate him as a Presidential candidate was made at the Democratic Convention in 1948, but his refusal was uncompromising. Discussion of "Eisenhower for President" revived in 1950 when he was President of Columbia University, and this time it was the Republicans who were looking to him. Truman called a brief halt to speculation when he appointed Ike first chief of the NATO forces, but soon the Republican politicians were wearing a path to Ike's Paris headquarters. Nobody, however, yet knew whether or not he was a Republican. Then on Sunday, January 6th, 1952, Senator Lodge of Massachusetts called a press conference in Washington to make two important announcements. The first was that Eisenhower was a Republican: the second that he was a candidate for the Republican nomination.

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\* From *Unity*, the second volume of General de Gaulle's war memoirs. Translated from the French by Richard Howard and published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 30s.

## NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

Both the major American parties are coalitions. Since the turn of the century the Republican Party has consisted of an "Old Guard" or Right wing and a "Progressive" or liberal wing. The Civil War shifted the centre of American economic power from the Southern planter to the North-Eastern industrialist: the landowner was replaced by the factory owner. This North-Eastern industrial complex provided the "Old Guard" element in the Republican Party. The other element was the North-Western farmer. The loaves and fishes for the industrialists were protective tariffs, for the farmers the Homestead Acts, which gave any citizen the right to 160 acres of ownerless land at a nominal price. The geographical lines between the two wings of the Party were distinct, but not absolutely clear-cut. Thus some members of the Old Guard came from the farm States, and some Progressives from the East.

The peak of Old Guard influence was the election of President McKinley in 1897. But to placate the liberal wing Teddy Roosevelt, Governor of New York and hero of the Spanish War, was nominated Vice-President for McKinley's second term; and McKinley's assassination brought him to the White House. Though Taft was groomed by Roosevelt to succeed him and had opposed tariff increases, he was captured by the Old Guard and signed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act, one of the chief reasons for the breach between Taft and Roosevelt. The Old Guard may have realised, in 1912, that Taft could not be re-elected and that Teddy Roosevelt probably could win. But they knew that defeat with Taft would leave them in control of the party machine, whereas victory with Roosevelt would deprive them of control: so they backed Taft, lost the election, and kept control of the Party. In 1920 they saw to it that Harding was nominated, with Coolidge as his Vice-Presidential partner. Coolidge entered the White House on Harding's death and in due course was re-elected. But that was the last success for the Old Guard. Hoover did not belong to the Right wing: he was derisively termed the "Great Humanitarian" and the men he appointed were known as "Hoover's Boy Scouts". Landon, who ran against Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936, was a former supporter of Teddy Roosevelt. Willkie and Dewey were also members of the liberal wing.

In 1952 the chances seemed good for a revival of Old Guard influence with Senator Taft, son of the former President, as Republican candidate. The liberals therefore turned to Ike and brought about his nomination. Forty years earlier the professionals had renominated the elder Taft, despite the argument that he could not win. But when his son's turn came the same argument was not disregarded. At the Chicago Convention of 1952 the Old Guard met its Waterloo.

It will be seen that Eisenhower did not create the "modern Republicanism" with which he is associated. He cannot even be credited with wiping out the stain of isolationism in the G.O.P.: if any single man deserves the credit for that it is the late Senator Vandenberg. Ike has, perhaps, done more than any liberal Republican in recent years to change the public image of his Party; but the voters have shown that they "like Ike" very much more than they like the politicians who hang on to his coat-tails. He has helped the liberal tradition to develop, but his electoral triumphs have owed more to personality than to principle.

In Adlai Stevenson he had an opponent of rare quality, who might have been expected to win against any Republican candidate other than Eisenhower. Stevenson had the disadvantage of being neither a "war hero" nor a man of humble origin. He is also an intellectual and a wit, whereas Ike is intelligent and good-humoured—a mixture which is more congenial to the average elector. By overwhelming majorities he defeated Stevenson for the Presidency in 1952 and 1956.

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His performance in the job has been much criticised and there have been times when clever commentators have been tempted to write him off. Yet this poor old dope, this *roi fainéant*, this babe in the political woods, has repeatedly confounded his detractors. In his own way he has got through a lot of useful work and, as he enters his last year in office, his popularity, power and prestige are higher than ever.

One clue to his success has been his careful handling of the Congress. Natural politician that he is, he sensed the importance of maintaining good relations between the two branches of the Government—the Legislature and the Executive. Congressmen have expended a lot of ammunition on the Presi-

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PLAYING GOLF IN SCOTLAND, SEPTEMBER, 1959

A.P.

dent's colleagues and advisers, but, like the public, they have shown an incurable tendency to "like Ike". Up to the time of writing Ike has had no veto of his overridden by the Congress. He has vetoed about 22 Bills a year, compared with Truman's average of 32 and F. D. Roosevelt's 52. Truman was overridden by a two-thirds majority of the two Houses on twelve occasions, Roosevelt on nine. Most of the Bills which Ike has vetoed required expenditure which seemed to him unjustified. Congressmen who vote for such Bills are doing their bit for the folks back home, but the President must think of the nation as a whole. The veto often enables a Congressman to make the best of both worlds. He gains political credit in his constituency by voting for a Bill which would have been helpful locally: at the same time his conscience is at rest, because, through the action of another, his vote has been allowed to do no national damage.

During the McCarthy episode, Ike's desire to be the "President of all the people", and

to give no offence to the Congress, may have been carried too far. McCarthy's downfall owed nothing to the President's opposition, though in his heart he must have disliked McCarthy's views and methods. While others were denouncing the smear technique, and risking their jobs by so doing, Ike's attitude remained curiously and discredibly ambivalent. He might claim, however, that through his "restraint" McCarthy was eventually brought to book by his own fellow Senators, whereas an attack on McCarthy by him (Ike) might have been interpreted as an attack on the Senate and so turned the man from Wisconsin into a Congressional hero.

Eisenhower's approach to international problems has been governed by the same desire to conciliate, though it must be admitted that he has been less elastic in his foreign than in his domestic policy. This has not been due, as is too often suggested, to his having left all major decisions in foreign affairs to the late Mr. Dulles. Dulles was, indeed, a formidable Secretary of

State, but he was appointed by Ike and his exercise of power depended upon Ike's confidence. In general, Ike trusted his judgment—it is no part of his system of government to be perpetually breathing down the necks of his colleagues—but the ultimate responsibility was Ike's and he did not shirk it. The revival of "summitry" which the world is now witnessing is not the result of an amiable President being suddenly released from the thralldom of a tough-minded subordinate. Dulles's policy was Eisenhower's policy, and it has not significantly changed since Dulles's death. Ike has been helped by the fact that some of his moves could only have been made by a Republican administration. He started his career as President by bringing about peace in Korea without being accused of appeasement. He is ending it by meetings with Khrushchev without arousing any suspicion that he is "soft on Communism". But he is certainly soft on Western Germany, a feature of American statesmanship which may owe something, in his case, to his obviously Germanic family origins. Between an "auer" and a "hower" there must be some vestigial affinity.

In 1956 Ike ran for a second term despite the coronary thrombosis which he had suffered; and it is the measure of his compatriots' belief in him that they renewed his

mandate in such precarious circumstances. His basic stamina must be altogether exceptional, for he has completed three-quarters of the course without faltering, and in recent weeks has undertaken journeys which would have taxed the physical and moral resources of a young man in perfect health. The warmth of his reception in Germany, France and Britain was above all a tribute to his own character. As in the United States he has become a symbol of the "American way of life," so in the Western world he has become a symbol of the free and democratic way of life. He represents standards which transcend the narrower loyalties of party and country.

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America has turned its generals into Presidents on previous occasions. Washington and Jackson were among the greatest, Grant among the least. One cannot anticipate the verdict of history, but whereas many, even a year ago, would have been inclined to place Eisenhower in the same category as Grant, it now seems that he will be judged more nearly on a par with Washington and Jackson. His prose may defy parsing, and his addiction to golf and bridge may offend the *illuminati*. But there is goodness in his eyes and a love of peace, freedom and justice in his soul.

## FREE TRADE WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH?

IT is strange that when Common Markets and Free Trade Areas are all the rage, when they are found not only in Europe but in the Middle East and South America as well, the idea of a Free Trade Area in the Commonwealth is not even seriously discussed. Yet there was a time in the early 'thirties when the cry of Empire Free Trade was to be heard from hustings all over the land, and the cause was powerfully promoted by Press Lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere. Lord Beaverbrook says in his Book *Don't Trust to Luck* that his failure to go through with this project was one of the great errors of his career. As he puts it:—

I had Baldwin and his party "over a barrel". But I was defeated and my movement destroyed by the cunning of Stanley Baldwin. In order to escape from our successful challenge in the constituencies he

came to an accommodation with me, pretending he would carry out the Empire Free Trade policy.

Stanley Baldwin then went to Ottawa in 1932 with a scheme limited to a form of reciprocal Imperial Preferences. My own crusade was not for a reciprocal lowering of tariffs but for Empire free trade. By introducing his smaller scheme, Baldwin defeated my larger and better scheme. When I tried to renew the movement he misled the public by confusing the issues. I blame my own political judgment for the trust I had placed in the man.

Whether or not this is the full story the fact is that the Commonwealth free trade plan has for all practical purposes remained buried ever since. Indeed at the present time most international trade experts would laugh it to scorn, in my opinion wrongly. Yet it must be admitted that the arguments

## FREE TRADE WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH?

they have to hand seem at first sight overwhelming. In fact, the swing of much informed opinion has of late been strongly against Commonwealth economic ties. It was the proposal for the European Free Trade Area which brought these criticisms into prominence, for it seemed to many that Britain's opportunity in Europe was being cast away because of a sentimental attachment to the Commonwealth which no longer reflected her true economic interests.

In the first place Commonwealth trade has been expanding less quickly than that in the rest of the world. It is interesting that the Treasury's official account of the European Free Trade plan which was put out during the negotiations had some emphasis on this and pointed to the fact that from 1952 to 1956 overseas Sterling Area imports of manufacturers had risen by 30 per cent., while in the Common Market countries they had risen by 70 per cent., and in the U.S.A. by 40 per cent. In these circumstances the large proportion—nearly a half—of United Kingdom exports which went to the Commonwealth seemed to be no cause for congratulation. For it seemed largely to account for Britain's declining share of world exports of manufactures. Moreover, other trends have been disturbing. The fastest growth in trade in the 1950s has been between manufacturing countries, for the trade of the primary producers with manufacturing nations, which might seem at first glance to be the most natural candidate for growth, was expanding much less quickly. A more sophisticated development of this point is that since so much of Britain's trade is with primary producing countries she never benefits from improving terms of trade. When the terms of trade move in favour of manufactures, British exports fall because the purchasing power of Commonwealth primary producers also declines. The conclusion from all this would appear to be that rather than form a closer trading association with the Commonwealth, Britain should diversify her trade, and turn away from the Commonwealth to other more rewarding markets.

About a year ago the Commonwealth came under fire from another angle. Mr. Alan Day, an expert on international finance, argued that the Sterling Area system, far from being an advantage to us in the United Kingdom, was on the contrary a millstone round our necks. Thus in spite of Britain being in surplus with the rest of the world

since the War, through acting as banker for the rest of the Sterling Area, almost every other year she runs into balance of payments trouble. This is because other members of the Sterling Area—Australia and India being the chief culprits—usually overspend. For political reasons, as Professor Paish graphically puts it, "You can't bounce India's cheques".

As a result of balance of payments difficulties Britain has to adopt restrictionist measures like raising the Bank rate to defend the pound sterling against speculators in Zürich. The net effect is that home investment is arrested and there is a serious setback to Britain's economic growth. Mr. Day, therefore, thinks it worth considering whether we ought not to share out the gold and dollar reserve and break up the Sterling Area. This would be a poor setting for a Commonwealth Free Trade Area.

But the strongest reason of all against Commonwealth free trade would seem to be that the overseas Commonwealth countries do not want it. The peoples of the still mainly primary producer countries do not want to spend their lives as hewers of wood and drawers of water. They know the smart thing nowadays is to industrialise. After all they got taken for a ride twice—in the slump of the 1930s, when they saw their national incomes fall in half, and in the War, when they could not import manufactures—so they have all got infant industries now which they are tending with loving care and do not allow to wander out into the rough and tumble world of free competition. Moreover, the Commonwealth countries are becoming more independent, not only as a result of their policy of industrialisation; they are becoming more separate even in finance. Many members are already holding some gold reserve of their own, and many Commonwealth countries are in their own region superseding London as a clearing house for transactions between Sterling Area countries.

All this is no more than to say that the Commonwealth seems to these critics to be not so much expanding as exploding, that the centrifugal forces which in matters of Defence have led to the ANZUS pact, and to the gradual abandonment by Britain of her chain of colonial bases round the world (even the future of Gibraltar looks like depending on its casino) is manifesting itself in economic affairs as well.

It is widely believed in political circles.



though this is not very often frankly stated, that some or all of the trends referred to above towards the loosening of Commonwealth ties are inevitable and that policy had best get reconciled to it. A leading example of this is Mr. Thorneycroft, who expressed his views in two recent articles in *The Guardian*. He believes it is a political imperative that Britain should not be divided from her European allies and, with the memory of the Chatham House conference in New Zealand, which he attended, still fresh in his mind, he has some reason to believe that the Commonwealth countries share this view. He therefore proposes that Britain should harmonise her tariff with the Common Market, except for Imperial Preference which would be eliminated at the same speed as tariffs are reduced within the European Economic Community. However, this scheme, far from being realistic, is a wildly improbable recipe for reconciling the demands of Europe and the Commonwealth. Not only is it so because it would not appeal to the French, who have been able to get their own way on all the important issues so far, but because it would create a new preferential bloc requiring the permission of GATT, and there is little doubt that the Americans would effectively object to this as they did in the similar case of the Strasbourg plan.

My own view is that the trends towards the disruption of the Commonwealth are, at least in the economic sphere, not inevitable but are the results of mistaken policies, and those policies are not the work of the last few years, for they have extended over more than a generation. The lack of economic dynamism in the Commonwealth, and in particular the failure of Commonwealth trade to expand at anything like the rate of growth of total international trade, is due, I believe, primarily to the protectionist policies pursued by members towards one another. This may seem a surprising statement to the layman and to even the informed student of affairs, for it may be asked, "What about Imperial Preference? Doesn't this mean that members of the Commonwealth trade freely with one another even though they levy tariffs on the goods imported from the outside world?" In fact, though Imperial Preference moderates such duties in comparison with the full duties, these inter-Commonwealth duties remain on the whole very high. It is worth while pointing out

here what is not at all generally realised, that the net effect of the Ottawa Agreements of 1932, which created most of the Imperial Preference system as we know it today, was to increase duties towards countries outside the Commonwealth: the duties which Commonwealth countries imposed on one another's goods were hardly changed at all. That is why those who, like the propagandists of the Empire Industries Association, talk of the creative effect of the Ottawa Agreements in expanding trade are talking nonsense. It is true that Commonwealth trade both in total and between members rose faster in the years after Ottawa than the trade of the world as a whole, but this was due to other causes. The revival started in the United Kingdom and communicated itself to the rest of the Commonwealth. And that revival was due not to tariffs but to the low prices of imported foodstuffs, which increased the purchasing power available for other expenditure, notably houses. This fact, together with the cheap money policy pursued by the National Government at the time, stimulated a housing boom which, combined with the later rearmament boom, increased business activity in Britain more than in most other countries.

Ottawa, therefore, left us with the high inter-Commonwealth tariffs we have today. The United Kingdom might appear very holy in this respect, since its tariffs on Commonwealth goods are mostly zero; this is particularly the case with manufactures, only one important item of which is charged duty if coming from a Commonwealth source—namely motor vehicles (20 per cent.). However, tariffs are not the only form of restriction and the U.K. in fact makes full use of quota restrictions on the products of "cheap Commonwealth labour", sometimes "by voluntary agreement", as in the case of textiles, or without, as far as bicycles, light engineering products, cheap hardware, canvas and rubber shoes, and sports goods are concerned. There is indeed something splendidly Alice in Wonderland about the way that many British politicians (especially on the Labour side) can plead for more funds for the underdeveloped areas of the Commonwealth and in the same afternoon demand that we restrict the entry of Indian and Hong Kong cottons.

In any event the effect of all this restriction, whether by tariff or quota, is to ensure that the resources of the Commonwealth are inefficiently developed. In particular the



## FREE TRADE WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH?

overseas Commonwealth is broken up into a congeries of narrow national markets, markets which are too small to give to most manufacturing industries the economies of scale in operation. Many of these industries are therefore high-cost and their prices are too high for them to be able to alleviate their condition by increasing export sales. Is it any cause for wonder that Commonwealth trade is not dynamic, and that the growth of its trade is much less fast than that of the rest of the world, and in particular less fast than that between France and her dependencies?

This analysis may seem very sweeping, so to put some flesh on the bones of these generalisations take the case of Australia, for Australia is the most extreme, as it is the most instructive, example of the Commonwealth's distorted development. Protectionism has a long history in Australia but it did not come fully into its own until the early 1930s. Its main effect is to starve agricultural development in order to promote the growth of industry. This has produced the curious result that the proportion of the working population which is employed in manufacturing is larger than in the United States. And this in a country where much potentially productive agricultural land lies unused.

Moreover, the average labour productivity of Australian agriculture, which after New Zealand's is the highest in the world, considerably exceeds the average productivity in manufacturing industry. And the productivity of Australian agriculture is not only absolutely higher than Australian manufacturing: in spite of its discouragements it is increasing faster. Of course, it may be argued that it is dangerous for Australia to remain dependent on wool and that she must diversify her economy. However, it is not more wool that is required. All the evidence suggests that what is needed is more meat, dairy products, eggs and fruit, for these are the things for which there is an expanding world demand, and they can be exported to pay for the manufactures Australia requires. The prospect for increasing exports of manufactures is, according to Colin Clark (perhaps the greatest authority on the Australian economy) extremely dim. It might still be argued that increasing Australian manufactures will provide a direct substitute for imports of manufactures, but it appears that it would be much more economic to increase

agricultural exports, as suggested above, so as to pay for these imports. However, this policy has to contend with what Colin Clark describes as "the obsessive dislike of agriculture and ignorance of the economic facts of the outside world which prevail among so many Australian public men". The protectionist system has also created vested interests in the continuance of the system. Under the cloak of Protection restrictive practices and monopoly are rife, and there seems little doubt that the various manufacturers' lobbies are, in the U.S.A., an unhealthy influence in Australian politics. This monopoly is particularly serious in the case of shipping. There is a law which reserves to a limited number of Australian shipping companies the sole right of carrying goods between Australia ports.

The same sorts of policies are being pursued, only in a less exaggerated form, in many other parts of the Commonwealth. The only way in which these protectionist tendencies can be arrested is to make the Commonwealth a free trade area. This is because it is the only means of freeing the trade of such an area which is countenanced by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The abrogation of the no preference rule (by which any tariff concessions given to one country must be extended to all other countries which are signatories of the GATT)—another method favoured in some quarters—seems most unlikely, as it would be opposed by the United States.

The main difficulty about such a Free Trade Area would be that Britain has less trade restrictions to give away than the other members of the Commonwealth. In exchange for reducing their restrictions on Britain's manufactures this country would of course have to remove her few duties and also remove quotas on the cheap manufactures, mainly from the Commonwealth countries of Asia. In addition, since the main limitation on Britain's imports of foodstuffs are the subsidy payments to farmers, these would have to go too. The actual means by which this could be effected involve too much detail to go into here but having decided that agriculture should contract, the same principles we have accepted of government aid to ease that contraction, which have been accepted in the case of the cotton industry, should apply here. Even so, this would not be a genuine *quid pro quo*. British agriculture after all represents only 5 per cent. of Britain's gross national pro-

duct. Something more would be necessary and this would be provided by increased loans. These loans, like those of the American Import Export Bank, would be discriminatory, in other words they could only be spent on goods from Britain. The mechanism for this already exists as a result of the Montreal Conference and the agency concerned, which now has the power to raise loans at the gilt-edged rate on the London market, is the Export Credits Guarantee Department. The idea of these loans would of course be to finance the increased imports of British manufactures into the countries of the overseas Commonwealth. They could also be used as a part of a counter-cyclical policy, so that when there was a falling off of business in the Commonwealth the loans could be used to increase effective demand for U.K. manufactures in these export markets. It would no doubt be necessary too to imitate the readaptation fund in the Common Market countries which is used for compensating and retraining employees thrown into unemployment, from firms closing part or whole of their premises as a result of removing restrictions.

It is worth pointing out that the strategic case for protecting British agriculture, like the strategic case for protecting Commonwealth manufacturing, namely that it is necessary in case of war, is now out-of-date. The two possible kinds of war are (a) nuclear, in which case stocks for the survivors are the only necessity, and (b) the limited Korean type, in which there is no danger to communications and so no need to produce expensively at home what can be imported more cheaply from abroad.

Clearly this policy would upset a great many people, but the benefits flowing from it would be enormous. The first and most important effect would be the trade it created. It is important to emphasise this, because too many people think of organisations like Free Trade Areas as means of stealing trade from other people; that is, they make the old fallacious mercantilist assumption that the amount of trade is limited. The growth of trade would in fact arise naturally, through each part of the area concentrating on those forms of production in which it possessed the maximum economic advantage.

However, the effect of diverting trade from other areas would also be very great. These arrangements would be tantamount

to a tremendous increase in Imperial Preference. This would put into the hands of the Commonwealth, acting as one unit, a tremendous bargaining counter when dealing with the Common Market, and one which would vastly outweigh in importance the Little Free Trade Area. Indeed it may be noted in passing that the trade diverted from the Common Market as a result of the Little Free Trade Area will be mainly from Western Germany, which means it will put pressure on the wrong country. For Western Germany is friendly to the Larger Free Trade Area idea. It is France we need to convince and, to take only one example, few things could more make the French Government sit up than Commonwealth wine having a preference of eleven shillings a gallon in the U.K. market.

But it may be asked, why do we want to bargain with the Common Market? Won't we have achieved our aim if we can increase Commonwealth trade? To my mind the job would, if left at that stage, be only half accomplished. The Commonwealth cannot live on its own and the overseas members of it cannot be satisfied by the U.K. market alone. What needs to be done is to make a break into the European market for Commonwealth foodstuffs, and this can only be done if we wield immense bargaining strength at the conference table. If we could achieve a Free Trade Area to embrace both Europe and the Commonwealth, then not only would the dangerous division at present emerging between the Continent and ourselves be bridged but a major distortion in world trade would be largely corrected. For the main reason why the trade of the primary producing countries has not grown as fast as the trade of the advanced manufacturing countries, in the period since the War, is the policies of agricultural protection pursued by the latter.

The Commonwealth Free Trade Area project must therefore be seen, not as an end in itself, but as a step towards a wider and freer system of international trade. It is clear that the programme outlined in the preceding paragraphs would conflict with powerful entrenched interests but that should not make us despair in the power of ideas. Lord Keynes wrote in the concluding chapter of his *General Theory*:—

... the ideas of economists and political philosophers ... are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed the world is

ruled by little else. Practical men who believe themselves to be quite exempt from intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic

scribble of a few years back. I am sure that the power of vested interests is vastly exaggerated compared with the gradual encroachment of ideas.

W. RUSSELL LEWIS.

# AN OXFORD ANNIVERSARY

## *Women's Rights in the University*

**E**IGHTY years ago this October, two small hostels or "halls" for women students were opened in Oxford. Except for the remnants of Victorian dwelling-houses concealed within the modern structures of two famous institutions, few visitors would be able to identify these tentative experiments as the present-day Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville College.

To most dons and residents in the conservative University of 1879 the new move seemed dangerous and unwelcome, though it was courageously sponsored by some owners of the great names of the period such as Dr. Edward Talbot of Keble, Professor T. H. Green of Balliol, Dr. Mark Pattison of Lincoln, and Dr. J. F. Mackarness, the Bishop of Oxford. The establishment of the two halls had been preceded by a successful endeavour, supported by the respectable reputations of Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Mandell Creighton and Mrs. Arthur Johnson, to organise academic "lectures for ladies", but a reluctant Oxford sedulously concealed from itself the fact that a new claim, characteristic of the contemporary movement for women's emancipation, had been staked for the equal citizenship of the mind.

So doubtful of the authenticity of that claim was the University that for thirty years the claimants living within its precincts were treated as interlopers, unofficially present but obstinately unrecognised. The first step towards recognition came in 1910 with the foundation of a Delegacy for Women, ironically due to the reforming efforts of Oxford's new young Chancellor, the normally anti-feminist Lord Curzon. Ten years later the pioneer work of this Delegacy was to be astonishingly crowned by the recognition, twenty-seven years before the same result occurred at Cambridge, of Oxford's women students as members of the University.

In 1879 such future developments were so unthinkable that one hall for experimental young women seemed more than enough. The fortunate chance that two were established came from a disagreement, typical of the current sectarian dissensions, among the supporters of the scheme on the subject of religious observance. A denominational struggle followed in which the non-sectarians insisted with S. H. Butcher, the translator of the *Odyssey*, that the women students would be priest-ridden, while the theologians believed, with Dr. Liddon of Christ Church, that they would all be atheists.

Finally a nucleus led by Dr. John Percival, the liberal President of Trinity College who later became Bishop of Hereford, seceded from the original committee which founded Lady Margaret Hall, and decided to open the second, undenominational, hall which is now Somerville College.

In 1886 the two women's "societies" became three with the establishment of St. Hugh's Hall by Miss (later Dame) Elizabeth Wordsworth. When Miss Dorothea Beale, the renowned Principal of Cheltenham College for Young Ladies, decided in 1893 to open an Oxford hostel where her more advanced pupils could roam "in intellectual pastures", the future St. Hilda's College came into being. Growing up beside these four institutions was a body of students living in their own homes, unconventionally organised by Mrs. Arthur Johnson and recognised at an early date as the Society of Oxford Home Students, which after many vicissitudes was to be incorporated in 1953 as a fifth college, St. Anne's.

During the past eight decades many of the best-known women in literature, politics, religion, science, travel, and education have come from these five colleges. Before the turn of the century Lady Margaret Hall had produced Gertrude Bell

and Maude Royden, while Somerville was responsible for Eleanor Rathbone and a few years later for Rose Macaulay, a fragile and eccentric student who went down in 1903. During this period the first woman to be admitted to the English Bar, Dr. Ivy Williams, worked for Honours in Jurisprudence as a Home Student.

Soon after the first World War, Somerville produced a remarkable group of young future writers, unofficially known as "the Somerville School of novelists", which included Margaret Kennedy, Winifred Holtby, Doreen Wallace, and Sylvia Thompson. Preceding them by a few years had emerged the zestful Dorothy L. Sayers; her contemporary the biographer and historian Cecil Woodham-Smith (born Fitzgerald) came from St. Hilda's. A younger eminent historian, C. V. Wedgwood, owed her training to Lady Margaret Hall, which also produced two Members of Parliament, the late Mary Pickford and the present Lady Emmet. Somerville educated a successor to Eleanor Rathbone in Eirene White, M.P., while the present Chairman of the Labour Party, Barbara Castle, M.P., is a product of St. Hugh's. This list of well-known names could be multiplied extensively if space permitted.

Occasionally the fame of college Principals themselves has penetrated beyond the circumscribed academic walls which surround their highly-selected community of scholars to the world outside the University. The reputation of Elizabeth Wordsworth, the first Principal of Lady Margaret Hall who was a friend of Benjamin Jowett and "the best company in Oxford", spread far beyond her own college. The first Principal of St. Hugh's, Charlotte Anne Elizabeth Moberly, believed so implicitly in her own psychic powers that *An Adventure*, the account of a celebrated visit to Versailles in which she collaborated with her successor, Eleanor Jourdain, has become a classic "ghost story" which still provokes controversy.

Somerville's fourth Principal, Sara Margery Fry, is more widely remembered as a famous penal reformer than as an Oxford don, while its sixth Principal, Dame Janet Vaughan, had contributed by her haematological research to the saving of thousands of lives through the Blood Transfusion Services during and after the second World War before she accepted her present post. The contemporary Principal of St. Hilda's, Miss Kathleen Major, formerly archivist to the Bishop of Lincoln, returned

to her own college in 1955 after serving with distinction the cause of ecclesiastical history by editing the great *Registrum Antiquissimum* of Lincoln Cathedral.

The history of the Oxford women's colleges has been a "success story" of triumphant constitutional struggle surmounting occasional setbacks. For nearly five decades the women who fought their discreetly-conducted battles were briefed and rehearsed by the dominant, combative, and highly-intelligent *doyen* of the female academic community, Annie M. A. H. Rogers, whose long life of dedicated service was divided between the Society of Oxford Home Students and St. Hugh's College. Totally unknown outside Oxford, which she seldom left, Annie as a girl of seventeen in 1873 headed the list of successful candidates in the Oxford Senior Local Examinations which had been opened to young women three years earlier, and thereby embarrassed the dignified examiners of Balliol and Worcester Colleges, which had offered Exhibitions on the examination results.

She was still on the Oxford scene in 1937, and even then did not die of old age but as the result of a street accident in St. Giles. In so far as Oxford women owe the degrees which came to them in 1920 to any one individual, the credit belongs to this indefatigable constitutional specialist.

The successive crises of their struggle for equal status within the University occurred in 1884, 1896, 1910, 1920, 1927, and 1948, when for the last time an attempt was made in Congregation to oppose a statutory increase in the maximum permitted number of women undergraduates. This reactionary effort was defeated by 228 votes to 11. The year 1957, when the Warden of Wadham, Sir Maurice Bowra, moved the final abolition of the quota system limiting the numbers of women in the University, produced no crisis because the motion was agreed without a division, and all reference to a specified ratio of women to men undergraduates was subsequently deleted from the Statute "Of Women Students".

This October of 1959 will witness the final chapter of the women's story, when legislation will be submitted to Congregation changing the status of the women's colleges from "societies" to that of full colleges. If it goes through, which seems hardly in doubt, women Principals will become eligible for the office of Vice-Chancellor exactly eighty years after the foundation of the first two women's colleges.



## AN OXFORD ANNIVERSARY



Radio Times Hulton Picture Library  
1. COTTAGE IN THE DRIVE. 2. A STUDENT'S ROOM. 3. VIEW FROM THE LAWN TENNIS GROUND. 4. APPROACH TO THE HALL AND ENTRANCE. 5. BACK VIEW OF THE HALL FROM THE GARDEN.

### THE LADIES' COLLEGE, SOMERVILLE HALL, OXFORD

With the attainment of virtually complete academic equality the reader of this fragment of history—essentially modern as a record of the progress which in the past half-century has been so rapid that today's young women do not value and hardly even realise the campaigns of their predecessors—might suppose it to be a tale completely and finally told. The truth is quite otherwise. For two reasons, the securely-established leaders of the Oxford women's colleges are still pioneers.

In the first place, constitutional equality has not been matched by economic equality—a fact regretfully recognised by the anonymous contributor to the *Oxford Magazine* who wrote in 1954: "The status of women in this University will never be satisfactory until the women's colleges have been freed of their role of Cinderellas". In

June, 1958, the five women Principals confronted their financial weakness and brought their needs before a wider public than the *Oxford Magazine* could command by means of a joint letter to *The Times*. Their success in taking advantage of the removal of "outdated limitations" was handicapped, they wrote, by lack of the capital required to buy land, endow fellowships, and erect new buildings to meet the perpetual pressure on their restricted space.

These needs spring from Oxford's collegiate system, in which (for the men) the University's financial contribution may be a mere drop in the flood-tide of ancient college endowments (sometimes contributed by women). Traditionally the wealthiest men's colleges have been Christ Church, Magdalen, and New College. In this century they have been joined by St. John's, once the im-

poverished owner of unproductive North Oxford farmlands which became productive real estate when the medieval city began to expand in their direction. The later pressure on space, emanating from the motor industry at Cowley which has linked Oxford's outlying communities into a vast suburban perimeter, must equally have benefited the colleges fortunate enough to own land on the fringes of the city.

No such Midas-like development has helped the women's colleges. They are not landowners; the fourteen-and-a-half acres possessed by St. Hugh's in North Oxford is by far their biggest accretion of real property. With three exceptions — the American benefactors of Lady Margaret Hall and St. Anne's, and the English benefactor of St. Hugh's, which alone owes a large-scale expansion to British money — they have little for which to thank the female (or male) owners of wealth.

Somerville, intellectually the proudest with its fine record of First-class Honours which in 1958 caused it to rank fourth in the whole University, is probably the poorest of the five colleges in spite of the loyalty of its graduates, who have contributed their modest hundreds and more rarely a few thousands, such as the £10,000 received from the royalties of the late Winifred Holtby's novel *South Riding*. From time to time all the women's colleges have been obliged to resort to such odd expedients as bazaars, travelling concert parties, and the sale of antiques and embroidered linen, in order to replenish their funds.

Secondly, the women at Oxford are still pioneers because their story of triumphant progress is only eighty years old in comparison with Oxford's eight centuries of history. Assuming (if we can) that current nuclear developments will not make deserts of both ancient and modern universities, who can prophesy how the next 800 years will affect the proportions of men and women at Oxford?

If the needed endowments come to the women, it is probably safe to assume a great increase (without terror to the once alarmed University, which is now a human society) in the numbers of women undergraduates. In measurable time their present (approximately) one-sixth of the student body will doubtless increase to half.

Will they continue to be organised in the present separate colleges of men and women, no longer virtual monasteries and nunneries as they were up to the end of the first

World War, but still segregated communities? The organisation of the still unfinished Nuffield College, a mixed society of men and women graduates, perhaps indicates what may happen to future undergraduate bodies within the University.

So also, for all its basic differences, does university life in the United States and Canada. The older academic communities of the New World which still boast the highest scholarly standards — Harvard, Yale and Princeton among the men, Vassar, Bryn Mawr, Smith, and Wellesley among the women — are still segregated, but even here segregation is breaking down. The fifth of the women's "big five", Radcliffe College in Cambridge, Massachusetts, is closely associated with Harvard; the women attend Harvard lectures though they still receive a Radcliffe degree. Yale now admits a limited number of fourth-year "co-eds" from Smith and Vassar, and houses them in a graduate women's hall.

Beyond these highly-qualified segregated societies lie a number of large mixed academic bodies which would not willingly yield pride of academic standing to the smaller unmixed colleges. Many eminent American and Canadian citizens, both men and women, have come from Cornell, Columbia, Chicago, and California Universities in the United States, and from McGill University in Canada. In all these mixed academic communities the available finances are distributed irrespective of sex.

But the ultimate emergence of mixed societies in Oxford (or Cambridge) admittedly lies in the distant future. At present the objectives of all who care for the future of the women at Oxford must be to lift their economic resources to the level of their newly-established constitutional status. Only through adequate endowment, comparable with that of the men's colleges, can real equality be achieved.

The domestic standards of the Oxford women's colleges, have now passed considerably beyond the cold mutton and prunes-and-custard cuisine deplored by Virginia Woolf at her fictitious Cambridge college in *A Room of One's Own*. But they are still well below the level habitually taken for granted for men. To eradicate the idea that Cinderelladom is the perpetual lot of women at the older universities means a fundamental and widespread change of too lightly-accepted traditional values.

VERA BRITAIN.



# THE COMING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

AMERICANS often envy the British their election campaign restricted by law to three weeks. An American political campaign has been well described as the period between two elections. Since national elections occur every two years a post-election period soon blends imperceptibly with a pre-election period. The blending occurs quite early when a Presidential election approaches, as it does every four years. A whole new campaign level is added then, which does not exist in the mid-term Congressional elections and has no counterpart in British politics. In fact there are three stages to this political campaign in a Presidential election year, the pre-Convention period, the national party Conventions themselves, and finally the post-Convention campaign.

The pre-Convention campaign is intra-party. The various party hopefuls manoeuvre for best position to assure their nomination as Presidential candidate by the party Convention. America now is in the midst of this first stage. The various candidates have not yet reached the point of openly acknowledging their candidacy, but are doing things which advance it nonetheless. A candidate must not appear to be too eager too early. A traditional reluctance must be shown, an appearance of modesty, a show of resistance to the pressure of friends and political supporters, much like the Speaker's symbolic struggle against assuming his office. It is also considered poor tactics to forge ahead too far in advance. You present too conspicuous a target for the supporters of rival candidates. The early bird does not necessarily get the worm; it may be a case of the early worm getting the bird.

The techniques of building up a candidate's reputation must be watched carefully. They do not always lead to the desired result. When Vice-President Chester Arthur became President after Garfield's assassination the country regarded him as a typical ward politician with a weakness for startling clothes. There was, it seems, nothing peculiar about the way he dressed but in that benighted age without television and newsreels there was no way of knowing this. So a campaign was launched by his friends to impress the country with the fact that Arthur, who wanted

to be nominated by the Republican Convention for a second term, always dressed as a President should.

The newspapers were swamped with descriptions of what he wore, the number of times daily he changed, the various pairs of trousers his valet pressed. His opponents asked if the country had a fashion plate instead of a statesman in the White House. Some began to wonder if the President had any time for his official work when he changed his clothes so many times a day. The well-meant effort miscarried. The campaign intended to help Arthur led to his defeat in the 1884 Republican Convention by James G. Blaine.

A would-be Presidential candidate must walk as delicately as Agag. The Jehus who drive furiously to their goal are likely to have their chariots upset. The preferred conveyance of any candidate is, of course, a "band-waggon," which everyone wants to board. The idea is to create the feeling of inevitability and profit by the human characteristic of wanting to be on the winning side. It is perhaps illuminating that an analogy should have been seen between a circus parade and a candidate's campaign. Vice-President Nixon's "band-waggon started rolling" two years ago. It had the road all to itself. There was no Republican challenger in sight till Governor Rockefeller's success last year in New York stood out like a beacon light in an election mainly marked by Republican reverses. Whether Nixon or Rockefeller wins the Republican nomination (there are no other possibilities yet in sight) may well depend upon the success of Khrushchev's tour with which Nixon is closely identified.

Rockefeller belongs to the political category which has provided the country with most of its Presidents. To be Governor of a big State has historically been a stepping stone to the White House. By contrast the Vice-Presidency has been a political shelf more than a political stepping stone. "There were once two brothers. One ran away to sea, the other became Vice-President. Neither was ever heard of again" runs the old joke. Only once in American history has anybody stepped directly from the Vice-Presidency to the Presidency. Martin Van Buren was Andrew

Jackson's Vice-President and succeeded him in the White House. But Van Buren, known as "the little magician," had made his political reputation and built up his political influence in the Democratic Party before he became Vice-President. He had been Governor of New York and Secretary of State. Nixon before he became Vice-President had no influence with the Republican Party. He was a junior Senator from California who had attracted a certain amount of national attention for the part he played in exposing Alger Hiss; but that was all.

In the last five years or so the public attitude towards the Vice-Presidency has changed. People have recognised that since many Presidents have died in office and been succeeded by the Vice-President it was wrong to pick a Vice-Presidential candidate just to satisfy a geographic or sectional party interest. He should be a man capable of assuming the duties of President if necessary. In 1956 Stevenson paid tribute to this new view by leaving the Democratic National Convention a completely free choice of the Vice-Presidential candidate. "The nation's attention has been focused as never before on the office of the Vice-Presidency. The choice for that office has become almost as important as the choice for the Presidency," he told the Convention. Nixon as the incumbent Vice-President has profited from the new conception of the Vice-Presidential office and has therefore had an advantage over former Vice-Presidents.

On the Democratic side there are several Governors who are possible candidates. A Governor of a big State has administrative experience. He is helped by the fact that since his activities have been within his State he has made few party enemies, nor has he been a cause of party friction on a national scale. But the leading Democratic contender this year is a Senator, John Kennedy of Massachusetts. He is a Roman Catholic and for that reason his leading position is as surprising in its own way as that of Vice-President Nixon. The defeat of the Roman Catholic Governor Alfred Smith of New York is usually attributed to religious prejudice (witness the one-word telegram he is supposed to have sent the Pope after his defeat: "Unpack"). There were undoubtedly other reasons for his defeat such as his East Side accent and his opposition to Prohibition. Back in 1884 a Protestant minister's description of the Democrats as the party of "rum, Romanism and rebellion" at a Republican meeting in

New York proved unfortunate for the Republicans and greatly helped the victory of Grover Cleveland over James G. Blaine. But nonetheless since Al Smith's day it has been considered axiomatic that no Roman Catholic would be given the Presidential nomination.

It has also been considered axiomatic that no Southerner could be the Democratic Presidential candidate. But Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas is close behind Kennedy in the pre-Convention Democratic race. However Texas is not now a typical Southern State, while Johnson is trying to create a picture of himself as a Westerner. The chief obstacle to a "draft Stevenson" movement is that he bears the double stigma of defeat. But each time he was defeated by the personally popular Eisenhower. If there is a Democratic deadlock with supporters of Kennedy, Johnson and minor candidates standing firm, the way could be open for Stevenson or for another "Missouri Compromise." Senator Symington of Missouri as well as being acceptable to both wings of the Democratic Party has the support of former President Truman.

In this early pre-Convention stage there is always much talk of "favourite sons" and "dark horses." A favourite son is a candidate supported by his State more as a personal tribute than in the expectation he would be nominated. But there is always a chance that the lightning will strike him. The "favourite son" begins to think; "After all why not me?" A "dark horse" is someone never considered before the Convention. Harding was a dark horse, and so was Bryan before he stampeded the 1896 Democratic Convention with his "cross of gold speech" in support of free silver coinage. Wendell Willkie might have been called a dark horse several months before the 1940 Convention but by the time it was held he had advanced well out of the shadows. Favourite sons can be a nuisance to other candidates by holding votes in suspension and contributing to a deadlock.

The party Convention is perhaps better thought of as a watershed between two campaign periods than as a distinct period of its own. It usually lasts one week only. Before it starts the chief interest is in the rivalry between the leaders of each party for the nomination. When it is over the two parties present, outwardly at least, a united front and campaign against each other.

DENYS SMITH

## THIRD PARTY AT TRAFALGAR

GRAVINA, Villeneuve, Nelson—in that order. Thus, in the lettering of a contemporary print, produced to commemorate what was held to be an honourable defeat, did I recently read the names of the three principal commanders at Trafalgar. One expects, in a picture coming from the other side, to see the British admiral placed last. But we think so much of Trafalgar as a decisive triumph against Revolutionary France and Napoleon, that we tend, in our insular manner and at this distance of time, to forget that Trafalgar was a Spanish, not only a French, defeat. It was, in fact, a far greater tragedy, both in politics and in nautical loss, for Spain than for the more massive power of France, which was clearly seen as the responsible agent for what befell the Spanish Navy on the first Trafalgar Day. In any event, fifteen out of thirty-three ships of the line on the Allied side, and almost half the cannon that fired on Nelson, were Spanish.

The Spanish Navy, all through the 18th century, was a far from contemptible force; even in the peacetime year of 1786 its personnel was as much as 70,000. It was, perhaps, more impressive in size than in victorious achievement, but it was not without its successes, against European as well as Barbary enemies. Its leaders were not lacking in gallantry, and had to their credit many important voyages of pioneering and discovery. The ships were often of splendid quality, and the three largest men o' war at Trafalgar all flew the Spanish flag. The chief failing was lack of sea experience, and by 1805 the best standards of the preceding century had been left behind.

Nor were Napoleon's Spanish allies under happy political circumstances. Despite the blunder of Britain's peacetime attack on some Spanish treasure ships in 1804, one could say, by the end of that same year, that Spain had been unhappily dragged into war on the side of France. The alliance was bitterly hated by a nation little touched by Revolutionary ideas; Napoleon's France was as distasteful to Catholic Spain as was Germany to Austria-Hungary by 1916 or the Nazis to non-Fascist Italy by 1943. The Spanish Navy, as in 1797, found itself dragged at the heels of a power which

seemed, and soon was, a conqueror more than an ally. The disasters of 1805, however redeemed by bravery and by a certain punctilio of loyalty to a hated alliance, were all the more tragic in that they were incurred in a cause not that of Spain.

Only in this context can we realise how the Spaniards felt about the part they had to play in the Combined Fleet at Trafalgar. Bitterness had, indeed, been growing for some months, and to none was the dilemma of loyalties more apparent than to the Spanish Commander-in-Chief.

Teniente General Don Federico Gravina was a Neapolitan in the service of Spain, born two years before Nelson, in 1756. His career had been varied, and of some distinction. As a young officer he had captured an English ship in 1779, and in that same war of the American Revolution he had commanded one of the floating batteries used by Spain in the great siege of Gibraltar. A few years later he was in a Spanish expedition against the corsair stronghold of Algiers. He had talents as a scientist and wrote a book on astronomy. Then in the war against Revolutionary France he fought as an ally of Britain in the Toulon siege of 1793 which gave Napoleon his first chance of distinction. On this occasion he campaigned not as a seaman, but as a commander of troops on land; he captured a Republican position and was wounded in the siege before the allies had to withdraw. His was a career of dual activity between soldiering and command at sea. In 1804, as Ambassador in Paris when Spain was coming again into war against Britain, he found himself employed in a political role. Now in 1805 he commanded the naval forces placed at the disposal of Napoleon.

Some Spanish ships had played their part in Villeneuve's movements against Nelson in the earlier months of 1805. They went with the French to the West Indies and back again, with Nelson in pursuit. They were in action off Cape Finisterre on July 22, when Villeneuve was intercepted by Sir Robert Calder. The action, being well below England's expectation, brought Calder to professional ruin. But he did take two ships (the *S. Rafael* of eighty guns and the *Firme* of seventy-four), and those two had been



TERRACOTTA BUST OF GRAVINA: MUSEO NAVAL,  
MADRID

Spanish. Gravina's division had been more gallantly and hotly engaged than the French ships, and casualties in the two lost vessels had been heavy. Spanish officers complained that their allies had left them in the lurch; Gravina, for one, wrote bluntly on the matter to Godoy in Madrid.

Yet although some bitterness and dissension remained, the Spanish leader was loyal as an ally. He made haste to replace the *S. Rafael* and *Firme* and augmented the Spanish squadron by some newly, albeit hastily, commissioned ships. Yet in the Councils of War at Cadiz the rankling dissension flared up again. The Spanish view, put forward by Gravina, was against a sortie unless Allied superiority over Nelson was so marked as to ensure success; the Spaniards warily pointed out that a winter blockade, outside four such ports as Brest, Ferrol, Cadiz, and Toulon, would damage the British fleet more heavily than a pitched battle. In the end, when Nelson had detached some ships to take in supplies, and when Villeneuve decided to come out, Gravina, against his more cautious judgment, gave way to an appeal to his honour.

In the upshot, as we find from a letter written after the battle by Captain Porlier, a Spanish officer, their honour was almost

all that the Spaniards saved from the wreckage of their fleet. If ever one is in danger of forgetting that Spain was as deep as France in the disaster of October 21, the Trafalgar exhibits in the Museo Naval at Madrid convincingly recall us to the truth.

Some Spanish ships, like Nelson's *Victory*, were many years old. The Museo has models of three—a rigged one of the three-decker *Rayo* and magnificent builders' hull models, one side being minus its outer timbers, of the two-deckers *S. Juan Nepomuceno* (captured) and *S. Justo* (which came off very lightly and stayed in service till 1826). A print, from well back in the 18th century, shows the vast *Santisima Trinidad*, of 130 guns, in full sail; another, of a series showing Trafalgar's aftermath, depicts her as a pathetically helpless, utterly dismasted hulk, in company with two victorious English ships. Of even greater historic interest are some of the documents on view.

One letter is from Gravina to the Spanish Admiralty. He wrote it in his flagship, the *Principe de Asturias*, on October 20, enclosing a statistical list of his men as they were the day before. In all, they numbered just under 12,000. The numerous officers were divided into the categories of *de la Marina*, *Mayoress*, and *de Mar*. His flagship had 76, the *Trinidad* two more, and the *Sta. Ana* (Rear-Admiral Alava's flagship) 64. Other ranks were split into various classes. Of these, the men given as *Tropa de Infanteria*, *Tropa de Artilleria* and *Artilleria de Mar* (the rough equivalents of the British R.M.L.I. and R.M.A.) far exceeded the *marineros* (Able Seamen) and *grometes* (Ordinary Seamen). Gravina's flagship, for instance, had 382 infantrymen and 172 of the *Artilleria de Mar* as against 184 *marineros*; her figures were typical of the fleet as a whole. The Spanish were in any case short of sailors and it would seem, as in 1588, that they mainly looked on their ships as platforms for troops.

We know, from many sources, that the British practice of firing at hulls rather than masts caused far heavier Allied than English casualties at Trafalgar. The French losses, in battle and in the great gale which followed, were even heavier than those in the Spanish ships. In no ship of Gravina's squadron did losses quite equal the slaughter in Villeneuve's flagship the *Bucentaure*, or in the *Redoutable* whose musketeers caused Nelson's death. But the Spanish casualties, when one recalls that Trafalgar was no



### THIRD PARTY AT TRAFALGAR

battle of their choosing, were terrible enough. Another paper in the Museo Naval, compiled in mid-November when details had filtered through, gives figures, approximate but eloquent, of what Trafalgar cost Spain. Well might Captain Porlier remark that the action of July 22 was *una miniatura* in comparison with this one. Gravina himself, struck on the left arm by a cannon ball, died of his wounds a few days after the *Príncipe de Asturias*, having fought most heroically and with a considerable degree of defensive success, limped back into Cadiz. Her losses were 52 killed and 110 wounded (much the same as in the *Victory*), but they were far lighter than in some other Spanish ships. Of those captured, the *Santisima Trinidad* had 205 dead and over a hundred wounded, the *Monarca* lost 300 out of 667, and of 711 on board the *S. Augustin* 180 were killed and about 200 wounded, most of them by one broadside from H.M.S. *Leviathan*.

So much for some of the tragic figures in that single sheet of manuscript in Madrid. Close to it are some of the more personal relics of Spanish officers who took part in the battle. One is the dirk which belonged to the captain of the *S. Ildefonso*. A complete case has belongings of D. Francisco Xavier de Uriarte, in command of the *Santisima Trinidad*; they include the ribbon of an order, his telescope, and a sword from Napoleon. Gravina's fine terracotta bust serves to illustrate this article; more personal are his cocked hat, his sword and stick, a drinking glass, his blue and white ribbon of the order of Charles III (one sees that ribbon often enough in Goya portraits), and the key to his coffin.

Spain's part in the greatest of all sailing ship battles had been a blend of inept politics, of naval insufficiency, and of the brave reception of fearful punishment. The feelings between the Spanish and the British navies were less bitter, than as at a period only eight years previously, than they were between England and Napoleon's French; here too one senses the parallel with Franz Josef's Austria and the Italy of the House of Savoy. An English letter preserved in the Museo Naval is from Lord St. Vincent to Admiral Mazarredo, by August of 1797 the Spanish naval commander at Cadiz. A few weeks earlier the Spaniards at Santa Cruz de Tenerife had repulsed Nelson (his only defeat) with the loss of his right arm. St. Vincent thanks Mazarredo for a letter

of the day before, assuring him that the Spanish officers' "sentiments of honour and humanity" tended greatly to relieve his mind from "the horrors attendant on a state of warfare". He assures his opponent in arms that he will not fail to convey to Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson and Captain Fremantle the interest taken by Mazarredo in their recovery. Now in 1805 there was no need for the Spaniards to enquire after Nelson, but courtesies were none the less exchanged and the Spaniards at Cadiz were full of chivalry towards the British crews taken prisoner from wrecked or recaptured prizes. From Trafalgar onwards the Spanish link with Napoleon was an alliance only in name.

BRYAN LITTLE

### CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor, *National and English Review*

BANDA AND KINDERSLEY

From Mr. G. H. Baxter

SIR,

In your September issue, in the column "Episodes of the Month", there is a section about the Devlin Report. The crucial sentence in it is a statement that Dr. Banda's good name "was cleared after a full investigation". This is not so. The Devlin Commission themselves say: "At the risk of stating the obvious we wish to emphasise that we were not sitting as a court of law"; and they make clear that their procedure was not designed to enable any individual to be proved guilty or innocent of anything.

Yours obediently,

G. H. BAXTER

60, Trafalgar Square,  
W.C.2.

—We emphasised that the Devlin Commission, like the Parker Tribunal, was *quasi-judicial*: that is to say, nobody could be "proved guilty or innocent of anything", because nobody was charged with any specific crime and the Commission or Tribunal was not tantamount to a court of law. But we insist that the public and official attitudes towards people whose reputations are either "cleared" or damned by such procedure should be the same in every case. Thus, if Lord Kindersley is at large and helping to run a number of large concerns (including the Bank of England), Dr. Banda should not be held a prisoner and described by Ministers of the Crown as a liar and violent conspirator. Ed.





**T**RAFALGAR DAY 1959 finds only two battleships at Portsmouth — the *Victory*, and the *Vanguard*. The *Victory*, whose masts and yards preside over the dockyard, is safely berthed ashore; the *Vanguard*, tied up alongside, is destined for the scrap heap. The ninth of her name, she is the last of an immensely long and honourable line. No more battleships will ever be built. For the first time in thousands of years navies no longer demand the largest warships of which designers and shipyards are capable. The *Vanguard* marks not the end of an era, but the end of a whole series of eras. She is also the final achievement of a nation whose contribution to history has been based on sea power.

Should she be destroyed? It is true we carry a sufficient burden of preservation already, but the *Vanguard* is different from a country house. If one country house is preserved, a cry goes up to preserve ten others; if one country house falls down, many more still survive. But the *Vanguard* is unique. Moreover, with the possible exception of *H.M.S. Hood*, she is the finest capital ship we have ever produced. Just as, of all sailing ships, the two we should most have wished to preserve—the *Victory* and the *Cutty Sark*—were in fact the only two to survive for preservation, so, of battleships, the *Vanguard* would in any event have been our choice. That the public appreciate her is shown by the overwhelming numbers of visitors on Navy Days; she would make the best of all possible recruiting posters. She could be manned by ex-naval officers and men who had fallen on bad times, a floating almshouse, or “hospital”, as Greenwich once was. With such uses, and a charge for going on board, the cost of keeping her might not be excessive.

Where should she be? It would be impossible to keep up her engines or man her in a fit state to go to sea; but she must be docked occasionally. Consequently she must be near a dry dock large enough to take her; only two will do so—one at Rosyth, and one at Plymouth. What better place for

a fine warship than Plymouth? Quite apart from the associations of that port, she could lie for ever in the Hamoaze, one of the few places in this island where Nature provides a setting large enough in scale for the grandest works of man, and near that other masterpiece of a vanishing era, Brunel's Saltash bridge, whence, as the train creeps out onto it every traveller to the West would, from the best of all possible viewpoints, see the *Vanguard* far below.

\* \* \*

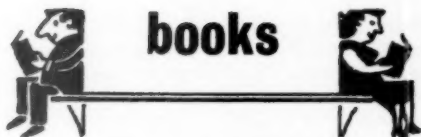
**S**CRAPPED HOWEVER have been the Lee-Enfield rifles of the sentries outside Buckingham Palace. Can we learn nothing from the Papacy, that supreme argument for not throwing away old clothes? There is always an urge to scrap the newly out-of-date; but the second-hand soon becomes the antique. Leave anything alone for long enough, and it comes into its own, like Victorian interiors or gas lamps. Who would think of modernising the Swiss or Palatine Guards—particularly the latter with their evocation of the Pope's temporal power and the Second Empire?

Or who, for the matter of that, would reclothe the Salvation Army, still wearing the uniform which sprang from that first meeting ninety years ago outside the *Blind Beggar* on Mile End Waste? By sticking to their guns—to their colossal motto “Blood & Fire”, to their “War Cry” Heralds, their music and their work in pubs—they have gained the respectful, half humorous affection even of the unconverted, and have become an inalienable part of England. Among other ventures, they run a barge (or, more correctly, a narrow boat) which preaches the Gospel on the Grand Union Canal. What is the name of this barge? “Salvo”, of course.

\* \* \*

**O**CTOBER THE EIGHTH will show whether the third stage of the Conservative rocket will actually ignite and put Mr. Macmillan finally into orbit. A latter-day amateur in this professional age, he shows a genius for playing things by ear. The most hopeful sign so far is that few of those provocative Tory posters have been defaced. A contented people? Perhaps, but October 8th is also the date of the National Sheep Exhibition. It is up to the Conservatives to see that as few voters as possible take part in that.

AXMINSTER.



ITALIAN IN SHINTOLAND

MEETING WITH JAPAN. By Fosco Maraini. Hutchinson. 50s.

**F**OR nearly a century Japan has been a "pushover" for the travel writer. It has tempted so many visitors with pens as ready as their knowledge is lacking that when a new book on Japan appears, we sigh "What, not again!" The temptation to write is almost irresistible. Everything about the country is at once strange and familiar, beautiful and ugly, old and new. A land full of contrasts brings out the worst in the facile writer. Old temples, some of the oldest buildings in the East, rub shoulders with the latest and often the most inspired creations of modern architecture—old mellow wood, brash new concrete. A girl in kimono, gay and feminine trips down the street followed by a *moga* or "modern girl" with Hepburn hair and the most emancipated dress. Next door to a garden of exquisite taste and beauty stands a row of dusty hovels. In a clearing of the forest at Nara a troupe of dancers belonging to a temple perform eighth-century dances while two hundred yards away in a booth of a travelling fair a girl, emaciated and bored, will perform her version of a strip-tease. The *kabuki* and *noh* theatres flourish side by side with the latest films from Hollywood and Europe. An itinerant priest, his head completely covered with a basket, plays tunes on his flute to gather alms. He sees a group of Europeans and breaks into the songs of Oklahoma. A city is rebuilt almost overnight—life and property go up in flames but the treasures of the past are preserved with fanatical care. A turn of fortune makes a girl a highly paid *geisha* or a struggling, starving street girl. Wealth, poverty, sadness, gaiety, kindness, cruelty, inferiority, arrogance—nowhere does one find the two sides of the coin so quickly turned. In the seething life of Japan the senses, like the contrasts, are sharpened and the visitor is bewildered, charmed, amused, disgusted, infuriated by turns. But he who has lived in and tasted deeply of Japan is never the same again. Most of the travel books do justice neither to Japan nor to their writers:

There are rare exceptions. Fosco Maraini is outstanding among them. First he is

qualified for the task. He lived in Japan before the War, suffered internment and returned with an open mind to see what the War and the peace had done to the country. He speaks Japanese and, as a student of the great orientalist Tucci, he is well versed in the cultures of the East. Like most intelligent Italians he is well founded in his own history but, unlike them, he is a citizen of the world in its broadest sense. He likes the Japanese and, what is perhaps more important, they like him. He takes the trouble to look deeply into the seeming incongruities of Japanese life and to interpret them. What may seem to us an oddity is to him the result of long lines of development and subtle graftings of one culture on another.

His sympathy for the Japanese is all-important, for the Japanese will stifle with politeness the foreigner whom they feel unsympathetic. For him the doors will be shut and all concealed. He will be left fuming and infuriated. Maraini probes without mocking, seeks reasons for unpleasant things, enjoys to the full the unusual, the beautiful, the moments of deep spiritual experience which Japan can grant the sensitive. A visit to a famous beauty spot of the past, now dusty with twentieth century traffic, evokes a poem of the seventh century. Some of us wonder at Shinto and its place in Japanese society. He says:—"The truth is that there are a hundred ways of



THE PICASSO AMUSEMENT ARCADE

approaching the mystery of life. The supreme purpose of every civilisation is the creation of God, and every civilisation has the deity that it deserves". We, in the West, are obsessed by evil and our gods are awesome while the Japanese have their "happy, human, irrational gods in the leaves of the huge trees of a wood."

*Secret Tibet* prepared us for an irresistible style. He brings the country to life with anecdotes and flashbacks as in an old style film. The statistics are there but never wearisomely: history, architecture, social studies, art and language—he puts all skillfully before us. The photographs are copious and excellent. As perhaps only an Italian could, he shares with the Japanese their energy and zest, their basic romanticism, without their morbidity. His humour is kind, his pathos is sincere.

Maraini has been well served by his friends in Japan—especially by the one whose anonymity he preserves under the name "Georgio". Georgio is a kind of link through the book. When the statistics and the heavy stuff are about to make us look for the bookmark, in comes Georgio again with a new restaurant or a new problem. The

writer himself owes much of his own small insight into Japan to Georgio, a warm-hearted Italian who knows the country, its people and its customs far better than any other European. He has lived it to the full, and in doing so assumed its burdens. A week in his company is worth all the books—including that under review. Marami has spread a little of Georgio and his book is all the warmer and more personal for it.

This is an excellent book, uneven in parts, but nonetheless excellent. It could have been published more carefully for, although one forgives the printing of Chinese characters upside-down, no self-respecting publisher ought to allow books to be circulated with sections of photographs missing. It was a pity that the missing section dealt with the bathing habits of the Japanese—which are not without their interest. And, incidentally, when dealing with these habits, I was sorry that the author did not tell what happened when a visitor, whose identity should be shrouded under the name Iniarum, jumped into a Japanese bath which was very much hotter than he remembered them to be!

PETER C. SWANN.

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## THE WAY OF IT

UNOFFICIAL HISTORY. By Field Marshal Sir William Slim, G.C.B. Cassell. 21s.

J. M. SYNGE, 1871-1909. By D. H. Greene and E. M. Stephens. Macmillan Co. of N.Y. 48s. 6d.

WILLIAM COWPER OF THE INNER TEMPLE, ESQ. By Charles Ryskamp. C.U.P. 30s.

ENTERTAINMENT IN RUSSIA. By Faubion Bowers. Nelson. 42s.

HIRST AND RHODES. By A. A. Thomson. Epworth Press. 15s.

COLONEL JOHNSON'S RIDE. By Robert Huff. Wayne State University Press. \$2.75.

**SIR WILLIAM SLIM'S** *Unofficial History* is not, as he is careful to point out, "one of those fashionable keyhole chronicles of what went on behind closed doors in the councils of the great". Sir William has collected and slightly edited nine episodes from his own professional experience which he calls "little battles and unimportant skirmishes". This is the kind of thing he does very well indeed. Anyone

who has heard him broadcast will remember that he, like General Horrocks, can be an uncommonly good story teller. He has also an eye for a phrase. He describes the Conscientious Objectors with whom he went to France during the First War as "an extraordinary collection of exhibitionism, idealism, courage and cold feet."

This is one of the most delightful and amusing books about modern campaigning I have ever read. Perhaps the most entertaining of the episodes is "Persian Pattern", which describes how the author demanded and obtained the surrender of Persia, and what happened next. This seems to have been one of the most courtly campaigns since the Crusades, and the arrival of the Russians fortunately did nothing to disturb the almost complete harmony, as "Caviar to the General" shows. Russian hospitality, civilian or military, seems to follow the same design, and the author's accounts of various Russian parties may be called traditional.

One of the most significant aspects of Field Marshal Slim's book is the affectionate respect he shows when he writes about British and Indian soldiers. He finds plenty to amuse him too. I doubt whether a kindlier or truer description of the contemporary soldier has been given anywhere than in *Unofficial History*. The author explains that he may be thought to have treated too lightly the grim and tragic business of war. It is not likely to be the opinion of his readers. They will find a series of recollections by a wise and kindly man. In its modest way this is one of the most readable books of 1959.

At the time of the Irish Literary Revival, with Yeats, Lady Gregory, George Moore and the rest of them writing to the admiration of their contemporaries, the Abbey Theatre was the focal point of their labours, and the most rewarding dramatist of them all was J. M. Synge. Born in 1871, he was only thirty-eight when he died. His biography has been published just fifty years later, and it seems strange that he has had to wait so long.

When he died, his papers went to his brother Edward, who refused to make them available to any biographer. Thirty years later, the papers became the property of Edward Stephens, Synge's nephew, a man who had been influenced by him. Edward had been writing his recollections of his uncle, but as a barrister and civil servant he had not much spare time for the work.

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It was in 1939 that he met Professor David H. Greene of Harvard, who was at that time writing a "doctoral dissertation" on Synge. After that the two men corresponded on matters affecting J.M.S. and when Edward died suddenly in 1953, his widow suggested that Professor Greene should write an authoritative "life", with full access to the Synge papers and giving Edward Stephens the credit of co-authorship.

Professor Greene has written a most conscientious and thoughtful book, and that is the least suitable commemoration for J. M. Synge, the poetic dramatist of the west, the lover of Irish legends and the rich humanity of the peasants, an odd, restrained character.

Yeats, meeting him in a Paris studio, recommended him to "go to the Aran Islands. Live there as if you were one of the people themselves; express a life that has never found expression."

Synge looked on *The Aran Islands* as his first serious piece of work. On going there he heard the two stories which gave him the raw material for *In the Shadow of the Glen* and *The Playboy of the Western World*.

The sensational first night of *The Playboy* is well described with the help of extracts from eye-witness accounts. In fact it might be said that the author has had the good sense to compile a conscientious account of Synge's life by making an intelligent use of the material at his disposal. It is difficult to believe that this book will be the definitive "Life". That could only be written by an Irishman.

Another American scholar, Dr. Charles Ryskamp, of Princeton, has been equally conscientious but informatively interesting in *William Cowper of the Inner Temple, Esq.* This is a biography up to the year 1768, with some account of the poet's work. Cowper himself believed that his years in the Temple were important to him, and it is pleasant to read anything about him, amiable as he was, that is not swamped by the morbid elements of his later life. The annotation is often formidable as in so much contemporary American biography, and it takes a footnote of sixteen lines to explain how the author managed to identify Cowper's chambers in the Middle Temple. Apart from a rare excess of this kind, Dr. Ryskamp has succeeded in getting the facts of Cowper's life into clear perspective up to the happy time when he found asylum in

Mary Unwin's house at Huntingdon. Lengthy appendices contain poems and letters now printed for the first time, and they have value, but the book is likely to be of particular value to the student of eighteenth-century literature and for the reader who is interested in Cowper's own literary tastes and in his development as a man of letters.

Mr. Faubion Bowers has written widely and perceptively about drama and dance in the Far East, and now as a Russian linguist, he has put the results of his investigations in the U.S.S.R. into *Entertainment in Russia*. In this book he discusses ballet, drama, opera, folk dancing, the circus, and films, and he gives one striking instance of totalitarian unanimity.

In Moscow Mr. Bowers came upon a magazine article, "Moscow at 7.30". All forms of entertainment begin at this time, and so fixed is the principle of seven-thirty and its particular significance in the minds of the audiences that the penny programmes on sale in the theatres often omit to mention when the curtain rises.

Mr. Bowers has the true American zest for knowledge and refused to be put off by any Russian evasions so that he succeeded in interviewing Ulanova, and the account of this not altogether happy encounter is almost the best thing he has written. It shows too how quickly misunderstandings between Americans and Russians can grow when there is an interpreter intervening. Mr. Bowers had taken as a present for the ballerina a pair of American "dance skins" (ballet tights), explaining through the interpreter that they were the best to be had in America, and no dancer could have too many of them. Disastrously, Ulanova was told they were the best tights anywhere and that dancers never had enough of them. Naturally Ulanova bristled. "I have plenty," she said, "If these are so precious I'll put them in a museum." But some days later she sent Mr. Bowers a signed photograph. She is given to generous gestures, it seems.

The polish and the team work in the theatres, the great variety of entertainments specially devised for children, the circus ("without question the most fabulous in the world today") are enthusiastically noticed by Mr. Bowers. A true amateur, he is attracted most of all by the tremendous, dedicated Russian approach to the arts, but he is also repelled by the terrific concentra-



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JOHN MURRAY

tion on everything that is Russian. In the evenings loud speakers in the parks and streets blare out the classics — complete symphonies, full operas — at holiday time. As one young Russian said, "It's like forcible feeding. It's supposed to be good for us. Nothing could make me like that kind of music." And then he asked Mr. Bowers if he had any Glenn Miller records.

The Russian world of entertainment may be said to reflect the national life of the people. Both have two strongly disparate characteristics — vast, sweeping changes and a static immobility. Mr. Bowers makes his point forcefully and well in this thoughtful, entertaining survey.

Mr. Neville Cardus has done so much good for cricket by writing lyrically about the game as he knew it in his youth at Old Trafford that it is not surprising his example has conjured up a school of disciples. I am not sure that Mr. A. A. Thomson would count himself among them but there are few living writers to compare with him on this subject. His fiftieth book is *Hirst and Rhodes* and apart from a tendency to hyperbole here and there, to be excused in a tribute to such heroes, Mr. Thomson has written much good sense about two sharply contrasting characters who together represented all that is best in Yorkshire cricket.

I saw both of them often enough in the role of the Ancient Enemy, and apart from home loyalties, I can think of no two cricketers more interesting to watch and study. The great merit of Mr. Thomson's study is that he explains, with many convincing examples, why this was so. He reprints George Hirst's words, when as captain of the Players on his fiftieth birthday, he was asked to speak to the crowd: "What can you have better than a nice green field, with the wickets set up and to go out and do the best for your side?"

How old fashioned it sounds today in the tedious times of journalistic stunts and "incidents" in first class cricket, and how right Hirst was.

Mr. Huff, who teaches English at Oregon State College, is a lively and original poet, though his debt to Gerard Manley Hopkins is allowed to become too apparent here and there in his book *Colonel Johnson's Ride*. His imagery is often sharp and unusual and remains comprehensible except occasionally when he tries to pack too much into a short sentence.

ERIC GILLET.



**records**

*Orchestral*

Karl Haas's London Baroque Ensemble can always be relied upon to produce delightful discs of rarely played music and his new offering of early wind music by Beethoven is no exception. There are three *Marches* for small military band (recorded before on Pye CEC32027), an *Octet* for two each of oboes, clarinets, horns and bassoons, a *Rondino* for the same combination and a *Sextet*, which omits the oboes. These last three works are all in E flat. The *Marches* are, of course, more fully scored and include piccolo, flutes, trumpets, double bassoon and percussion. It is pleasant to have Beethoven in this happy and extrovert mood. The recording is excellent (Pye CCL30133). Another novel disc is Janacek's *Youth*, a suite for six wind instruments in which the composer, in old age, recalls schooldays in the monastery at Brno which, judging by the gaiety in the music, he seems to have much enjoyed. Also on the disc, and written too in old age, is a collection of *Ditties and Nonsense Rhymes*, set for nine voices, piano, wind instruments (including ocarina), double bass and child's drum, which are quite delightful even though one does not know what the words are about. Foreign firms should see that translations of such material are provided. The performances by the Prague Wind Quintet (with an extra player) and the Czech Singers Chorus and soloists of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra are very good (Supraphon LPM400).

Yet another recording (the eighth) of Vivaldi's *The Four Seasons* comes from the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra, conducted by Karl Münchinger, and is conspicuous for beauty of tone and poetic feeling (Decca LXT5519; stereo SXL2019). For the Vivaldi enthusiast there are also five of his oboe concertos finely played by Alberto Caroli and the Scholars of Milan, under Piero Santi on Vox PL10720, and stereo (with one concerto less) STPL510720).

*Choral*

The three recordings of Beethoven's colossal *Mass in D* available up till now have been flawed, in spite of their con-

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siderable merits, by uneven solo singing: but this fault is eliminated in a new recording with Schwarzkopf, Christa Ludwig, Gedda and Nicola Zaccaria making a superb team, and Karajan, with the Vienna Singverein and the Philharmonia Orchestra, directing a fine and fervent performance of the great work. Toscanini's blazing, passionate interpretation, and what he gets out of his choir and orchestra, stand alone but this thrilling performance is not one everyone would want to live with.

The Columbia issue has a less directional and more diffused sound, with a rather weak chorus bass line. The first *Kyrie* is sluggish in tempo and the first *Et vitam venturi saeculi* is sung almost wholly mezzo-forte and becomes dull: but these are small flaws in a notable achievement (Columbia 33CX1634-5).

## *Opera*

Memories of the first twenty-five years of opera at Glyndebourne are enshrined on H.M.V. ALP1731, beginning with *The Marriage of Figaro* (1935) and ending with *Idomeneo* (1956)—the arithmetic of the title is a little obscure! One can hear on the disc what a high standard of artistry has been maintained by all concerned. Rossini's *La Cenerentola* and *Le Comte Ory* are also represented.

At last, fifteen years after its first performance at Sadlers Wells Theatre, Benjamin Britten's masterpiece *Peter Grimes* has been recorded. One cannot really regret the delay, for an opera in which the chorus is such a dominating factor needed the greatly improved recording technique of the present day to do it justice. This is the finest example of recorded opera that we have had so far, an advance, even, on Decca's splendid *Das Rheingold*. The carefully worked out positioning of the singers, the various "effects", the shutting of the door of the room when the storm is raging, and so forth, add an extraordinary verisimilitude to the presentation both on mono and stereo. The opera has, moreover, the advantage of being conducted by the composer himself, and one realises, as never before, what a master of the orchestra he is.

This is a really thrilling and worthy production of the first great full-length English opera and it deserves to be warmly supported. The stereo version is, naturally, more spacious, but the mono is exceedingly

## FINANCE

good—so that no one need hesitate to purchase it (Decca LXT5521-3; stereo SXL2150-2).

ALEC ROBERTSON.



## finance

**T**HE Radcliffe Report may not have exploded in the City quite like a damp squib but it was, to change the metaphor, certainly less than a nine days wonder. It is, of course, much too long and too difficult to be read by many people, whether in the City or elsewhere. Its readership will be found primarily among the very small minority who have the time and the professional need to use the Report as a work of reference showing how Britain's financial system works—or fails to work. Moreover, with two exceptions, the Report had little of great interest to say about the City's institutions. It had a lot to say about the Bank of England, which has taken a decidedly dim

view of the Report. Indirectly, it says a good deal about the discount market—and, after a first quick scrutiny, a deep sigh of relief could be heard coming from the discount houses.

The Radcliffe Committee have come as near as could be expected to passing a vote of no confidence in the Bank of England. They say, in effect, that the Bank has been so much out of touch with Whitehall that a formal committee needs to be set up. They also imply that the Bank has failed in its job of being the natural source of information and informed comment—for the Government machine as well as for the general public—about a wide range of monetary affairs.

So far as the discount houses are concerned, the fact that they felt relieved at what the Report did say about their market shows how much they must have expected an attack on their usefulness. But the Report can scarcely be regarded as judging that the discount houses are irreplaceable. It does, indeed, say that until now they have done a necessary job efficiently and cheaply, but also states "it would not be beyond human ingenuity to replace the work of the discount houses . . . we should find no cause



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for alarm if developments within the banking system threatened to break down the cartelisation and orderliness of the short market".

Publication of the Radcliffe Report naturally concentrated people's attention on the possible criticisms of the City raised in the Report. As a result, a number of the topics previously the subject of great discussion have for the moment fallen into the background, including one which could just possibly become a matter of legislation after the Election. This is the question of non-voting shares. The theoretical position on this question is quite plain. There should ideally be no divorce between ownership and control. This means that the owners of the equity capital of a company should cast the votes by which the Board of Directors are elected and any other special business decided. Equally, however, the rights of ownership and control also carry the obligation that ordinary shareholders receive no dividend until all the company's creditors and any other prior claimants have been met. It follows from this that if any shareholder does not have a vote he must have a preferential claim to a dividend payment.

But it also follows that it is ridiculous in principle to have a class of shares which are equal in all respects to ordinary shares except that they do not have a vote.

It seems that at last the force of these principles, which are basic to the notion of a private enterprise company, are being accepted in the business world, and a number of companies are giving votes to their non-voting ordinary shareholders. But a practical problem does arise, namely that most holders of non-voting shares have bought these shares in the full realisation that they do not carry a vote. It follows, therefore, that to enfranchise these shares would provide holders with a capital gain and would radically and adversely affect the degree of control of the company previously held by the owners of voting shares. The most that can be hoped seems to be that no new non-voting shares will be created except by those companies which already have a capital containing these shares. It is also to be hoped that the creation of non-voting shares will not be used to enable the holders of the minority of the non-preference shares in a company to exercise control.

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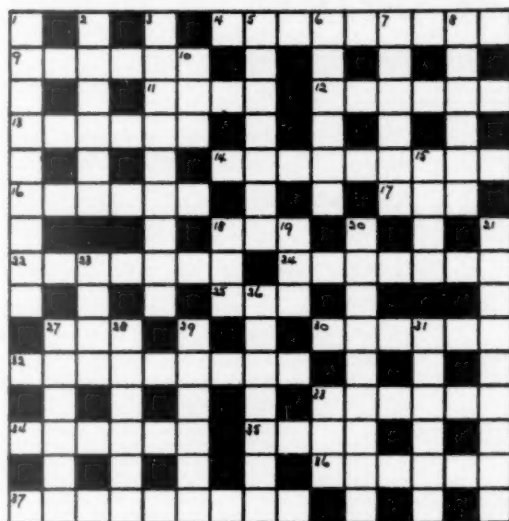
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## SOLUTION TO CROSSWORD PUZZLE NUMBER 35

ACROSS. — 1. Arrest. 5. Cutlet. 10. Retreat. 11. Decorum. 12. Lining. 15. Seneca. 16. Torches. 17. So-so. 18. Stir. 19. Flouted. 20. Rage. 22. Uses. 25. Unclean. 27. Siding. 28. Lumber. 31. Matches. 32. Imagine. 33. Saddle. 34. Entree.

DOWN. — 2. Ratings. 3. Exeunt. 4. Tilt. 5. Code. 6. Taches. 7. Earnest. 8. Drills. 9. Impair. 13. Gosling. 14. Scruple. 15. Several. 20. Resume. 21. Godetta. 23. Sublime. 24. Screen. 25. Unshod. 26. Nutant. 29. Esne. 30. Time.

## CLUES

### ACROSS

4. "Farewell! a long farewell to all my . . . .!" Shakespeare (*King Henry VIII*) (9)
9. A little brother put wrong? — That's unexpected (6)
11. Holds quiet means of fastening (4)
12. Builds in secret maybe (6)
13. There's no volcanic stone back here in Newfoundland (6)
14. The yoyo can form a real bond (9)
16. He forgot his opening word with fatal results (6)
17. Start poetically (3)
18. The beginning of the season in the main (3)
22. A point for the mathematician (7)
24. The sheep appeared injured, but walked (7)
25. Plant to be seen in many a market-garden (3)
27. A shilling is relatively little (3)
30. Pelt with rock in wild enthusiasm (6)
32. He wanted to make gold and upset St. Michael (9)
33. This may be seen when the traveller puts forward his case (6)
34. Suppress the good man before life gets complicated (6)
35. Expression used when one drops right into a trap? (4)
36. It may be grave for the French (6)
37. Restaurant with musicians by the side of a lake (9)

### DOWN

1. Procession putting a learner and outsider in a hole (9)
2. Sufferings on account of men in the docks? (6)
3. M.O. is sharp, makes up proverbs (9)
5. Put back some material, a delicate fabric (7)
6. Ada has inside information concerning things to be done (6)
7. Ornamental work can make one ill (6)
8. Ridicule as about to dress (6)
10. Sun shade (3)
15. Episcopalian's stony heart (4)
18. It's artful simply expelling the little devil (3)
19. Give weapons to a Royal Marine (3)
20. One might travel in it by accident, so to speak (9)
21. Supporters rent a shed perhaps (9)
23. Smart enough not to get the bird completely (4)
26. Weapon of a fool for example and first-class (7)
27. One of the top men in the building trade (6)
28. Garments for working hours (6)
29. Mother returned to father in France. — he was a French physicist (6)
31. A man, — or about to be (6)
33. By way of a fourth return (3)

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## LARK IN THE CLEAR AIR

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